

THE CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE
30 Sept. to 22 Nov., 1818

by

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INTRODUCTION:

Out of the struggles against the French revolution and against Napoleonic dominance came a system of international cooperation, different from any that had existed previously. It arose through the necessity of concerted action by the great powers of Europe in meeting a common enemy, when momentarily, at least, these powers had to abandon their selfish ambitions and rivalries.

With the defeat of Napoleon, forward-looking statesmen sought to maintain the principle of united action, that had been so necessary and so effective in war, and apply it to international diplomatic procedure. While all the chief statesmen of the period shared in this, Lord Castlereagh (1812 - 1822), British foreign minister, was mainly influential in bringing this about.

It was Castlereagh who at the second Paris Peace conference by the Quadruple Alliance treaty of 20 November, 1815, introduced a new polity into European diplomacy. Article 6 of this treaty provides for periodic congresses of the four great powers "...for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests." This article is the origin of a new system of diplomacy which, through various conference centers, through periodic congresses, sought to assure the proper working out of existing treaty arrangements and the peaceable adjustment of any differences subsequently arising. In a word, Castlereagh

led the powers of Europe to abandon the competitive Balance of Power polity of the previous modern centuries and substitute for it a Concert of Power polity.

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The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle derives its chief significance from the fact that it coincidentally defined the Concert of Powers, and illustrated its working. For there was need to prevent perversion of the practical Concert of Powers polity by confusing it with the dangerously vague Holy Alliance scheme of a universal union of Christian states. Castlereagh, therefore, restated positively, and the Congress so accepted the principles which were to guide European diplomacy generally throughout the nineteenth century. Further, the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle showed the Concert of Powers at its most impressive moment. "The great machine of European peace," as Castlereagh called it, was working at its best. The Congress was the Locarno of the nineteenth century, solving diplomatic questions that were remarkably similar to those of the present time.

However, despite its vital significance the Congress

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1. For an adequate and just estimate of Castlereagh's contributions to European diplomacy, historians are chiefly indebted to C. K. Webster in his exhaustive study of "The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh."
 2. Austin Vanderslice in his thesis: International Philanthropic Dynamics in the Era 1815-30, University of Kansas, 1929, shows the idea of the Holy Alliance of 26 September, 1815, to have originated with Stephen Grillet, a Quaker, with whom Alexander had contact in 1814, in London.

of Aix-la-Chapelle has never yet been made the subject of a really comprehensive study. The great constructive principles of Concert diplomacy illustrated and defined at Aix-la-Chapelle were so intensely practical, and the statesman from whom they emanated was so uninspiring, that neither furnish interesting stuff for history. Therefore too often historians have been led astray by the more picturesque Holy Alliance of Czar Alexander I, about which contemporaries created a legend of diplomatic reaction that until recently has perverted the 19th century history-writing.

With eyes fixed on the Holy Alliance, historians commonly have overlooked or misconceived the peculiar significance of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. For example, there is W. P. Cresson's "Holy Alliance", made after a cursory study of manuscript material at Lenin-grad, while secretary of the United States embassy there, and also of documents in the State Department. This study contains an account of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, but while acquainting himself with the principles of Alexander, Dr. Cresson has neglected those of Castlereagh, whose correspondence he has not used. The significance of the international efforts of Castlereagh at Aix-la-Chapelle are thus lost to him.

In contrast with Cresson's account is that of W. A. Phillips, who in the "Cambridge Modern History", in the eleventh edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica", and

above all, in his "Confederation of Europe", definitely emphasized the significance of the Concert of Power system of Castlereagh. In his book the "Confederation of Europe", he discusses both the Holy Alliance and the Congress system. The main thesis of this book, however, (3) as Harold Temperley declares in a review in the English Historical Review is "....that an attempt at 'Congressional' Government on the basis of universal peace is a process calculated to create more dangers than it averts." (4) Because only such episodes as strengthen this thesis have been chosen, it is not an adequate discussion of the Congress system inaugurated by Castlereagh. Another definite recognition of the Concert system is found in C. Dupuis, "Le principe d'equilibre et le concert européen." Unfortunately but little space is devoted to the significance of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to the European concert.

In contrast to most historians, C. K. Webster gives scant notice to the Holy Alliance, while devoting his whole attention to the system of Castlereagh. His "The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh" contains probably the

3. Cambridge Modern History, vol. X, ch.1, 1907 edition; Phillip's Confederation of Europe, second edition 1920; Encyclopedia Britannica, eleventh edition, 1910.

4. Temperley, Harold: review of W. A. Phillip's Confederation of Europe, in English Historical Review, vol. XXX, p. 359.

most exhaustive account available of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. Yet it is inadequate, for in the words of the author himself, it is only "...concerned with British policy, and that of other countries is only described in so far as is necessary to make British policy clear." Thus (5) showing the prominence of the British foreign minister in European diplomacy, Webster has obscured the significance of the Congress, and has consequently neglected much valuable material upon it. An excellent account in German of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle is that of Alfred Stern in his "Geschichte Europas." Dr. Stern discusses the (6) histories of individual states separately. The diplomatic questions of the time - the Barbary pirates, the slave trade, the surveillance over France, etc. - are all divided among the chapters which deal with the separate countries. In this lies his chief fault. The diplomacy of the time formed a common European history. In treating the diplomatic history of each country separately, the significance of the Concert of Powers is lost. Only in the chapter on the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle is the diplomatic history of all countries coordinated. This chapter is excellent. It is the most systematic treatment

5. Webster, C. K.: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, preface, p.7.

6. Stern, Alfred: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, ch. 5.

of the Congress in print. However, the account throws little light on the activities of the Prussian representatives at the congress. This is especially regrettable since the Prussian source material accessible to Storn in the Archives is not available in print.

For the Russian side, F. de Martens gives a discussion of some merit in the elucidation of the documents he edits, but he does not pretend to give a full and connected account.

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The French treatments of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle tend to emphasize either the personal prominence of the Duc de Richelieu at the Congress, or the national importance of the benefits France derived from the Congress. Raoul de Cisternes in "Le duc de Richelieu" and Leon de Crousaz-Crétet in his "Duc de Richelieu en Russie et en France" follow the former tendency, while M. Capefigue in his introduction to d'Angeberg's "Le Congrès de Vienne" and Achille de Vaulabelle in his "Histoire des deux Restaurations" follow the latter tendency. Again the more recent French accounts have stressed the lighter aspects of the Congress. Jean Hanoteau in his introduction to the "Lettres du Prince Metternich à la Comtesse de Lieven", throws some light on the social life of the Congress, but only insofar as it pertains to the liaison

7. Martens, F. de: Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères, vol. VII, entitled: "Traités avec l'Allemagne, 1811 - 1824."

between Prince Metternich and Madame Lieven. "Le Moniteur Universelle", which Hanoteau uses, contains a wealth of material which he has not really exploited. Also Ernest Daudet in an article in Le Correspondant entitled "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle" gives a description of the social life based on the reports of the French spies, but the revelations are rather insignificant.

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This represents the status of the problem as it is well stated by Prof. C. K. Webster "...we have a very large quantity of evidence, which ...presents possibilities of being combined with the evidence we already possess from private sources in a way which can perhaps give us an accurate picture of the whole period."

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It is with this need in mind that the present study is undertaken. Its plan may be stated as follows: The matters which occupied the diplomacy prior to the Congress, the preparations for the Congress, the social and diplomatic activity of the Congress, will be treated in a continuous narrative, so that the true significance of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle will be clearly realized.

8. Le Correspondant, 1907, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 33 to 60.

9. Webster, C. K.: "Some Aspects of Castlereagh's Foreign Policy", in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd series, Vol. VI, p.66.

The definitive history of 1816 to 1819 from a Concert of Powers point of view of course requires use of the wealth of unpublished primary material. However, a comprehensive study of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle is possible because of the extent of published material available as yet not fully exploited.

The official documents of the Congress can be found in a number of places. For the English influence at the Congress there is the voluminous and invaluable correspondence of Castlereagh and Wellington, filled with letters of the chief statesmen of the time. From the Russian side there is, notably, the correspondence of Nesselrode, and the official correspondence of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and for the period just prior to the Congress the diplomatic correspondence between Pozzo di Borgo and Nesselrode. For the Austrian there are the memoirs of Metternich; the diary of Gentz, which as that of the protocolist of the Congress has considerable value; and the Gentz correspondence, which includes the dispatches to the Hospodars of Wallachia and the letters to the Viennese journalist, Pilat. For the Prussian there is unfortunately little. Hardenberg and Bernstorff left no account of the Congress. Humboldt wrote letters to his wife from Aix-la-Chapelle, but he arrived late, and had little share in the work of the Congress after he arrived. For the French there are the excellent letters

of Richelieu to king Louis XVIII. Le Moniteur Universelle, intent on fully exploiting the news value of a Congress from which France anticipated such great national advantages contains innumerable contemporary press comments on the Congress and illuminating items on the social life of the Congress. For the American interest in the Congress the letters of the Gallatin, Rush, Campbell, and President John Quincy Adams have been collected by W. R. Manning in Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations.

With this material the working of "the great machine of European peace" can be well illustrated in its world-wide perspective. Such is the aim of the present thesis.

CHAPTER I

THE WORK OF THE AMBASSADORIAL CONFERENCES

Europe at the close of the eighteenth century was in a transition to a new system of international relations. The necessity for such a change had been repeatedly impressed upon the powers of Europe during the turbulent years of the French revolution and the wars of Napoleon. Far-seeing statesmen like Castlereagh early recognized this necessity. Already in 1804 when Novosiltsov, the Russian ambassador to London, transmitted the proposal of Alexander to Pitt to form "....a general agreement and guarantee for the mutual protection and security of different powers....," Pitt with the assistance of Castlereagh had replied that it seemed necessary to "....re-establish a general and comprehensive system of public law in Europe."

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This proposal has been considered by some historians the embryo of the Concert of Powers, containing the vital principle that was to actuate the powers of Europe toward a closer combination. Nothing actually came of it for a decade, but meantime, of necessity, the principle of concert was developed by the various coalitions against

1. Quoted and discussed by Webster in Ward and Gooch, History of British Foreign Policy, vol I, p. 491; by Cresson, Diplomatic Portraits, p. 47; Marriott, "The Concert of Europe", in Nineteenth Century, October, 1915.

Napoleon after his Moscow retreat in 1812. The negotiations, issuing in a series of treaties, (2) resulted in the 1813 coalition of the nations by which the power of Napoleon was crushed at Leipzig. Friction within this grand alliance culminated in the treaty of Chaumont in February 1814, when Castlereagh by tactful diplomacy united in a well defined defensive alliance the four great powers--England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia--as active directors of the general interests of Europe. The object of this treaty was to protect Europe from further French aggression (3) for a period of twenty years. With the defeat of Napoleon, when the powers were assembled at the Vienna Congress (September 1814 to June 1815), various suggestions for future peace cooperation came up. Castlereagh (4) in 3 October, 1814, there made a well-received proposal that went beyond the safeguards of the treaty of Chaumont. (5) He then proposed that the powers publicly declare "....

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2. For a general discussion see Webster in Ward and Gooch, History of British Foreign Policy, vol. I; Phillips in Cambridge Modern History, vol. X.
 3. Treaty found in D'Angèberg, Le Congrès de Vienne, vol. I, p. 116.
 4. Webster: The Congress of Vienna contains the best discussion of this congress, whose settlements vitally affected the working of the European Concert.
 5. Webster: "Some Aspects of Castlereagh's Foreign Policy" in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd series, vol. VI, p. 68 discusses the Projet de Declaration, which is found in D'Angeberg, Le Congrès de Vienne, vol. I, p. 253.

their determination to uphold and support the arrangements agreed upon; and, further, their determination to unite their influence, and if necessary their arms, against the power that should attempt to disturb it." This proposal for a general guarantee was dropped when news reached the Congress of Napoleon's return from Elba. After the Hundred Days, the time was ripe for the adoption of some definite plan of international procedure. Two treaties were signed at Paris on November 20, 1815. One was the definitive treaty of peace, settling the questions of frontiers, of financial obligations, of an army of occupation, on French territory. The other treaty is known as the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance. Though essentially a renewal of the treaty of Chaumont, it contained new stipulations of great importance. It was originally drafted by Alexander, but Castlereagh submitted a counter-project which formed its basis. Article 6 reads: "To

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6. Castlereagh to Liverpool, 13 February 1815, cited by Webster: "Some Aspects of Castlereagh's Foreign Policy", in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd series, vol. VI, p. 68 ff.
 7. Ibid., also, Prokesch-Osten: Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 197.
 8. Pozzo di Borgo to Castlereagh, 25 June, 1815 in Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. X, p. 385; Prokesch-Osten, Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 143.
 9. Hertslot: Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. I, p. 342 ff.
 10. Webster in Ward and Gooch: History of British Foreign Policy, vol. I, p. 517.

facilitate and to secure the execution of the present treaty, and to consolidate the connections which at the present moment so closely unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the high contracting parties have agreed to renew their meetings at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves, or by their respective ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of those periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe." This article 6 marked
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the birth of the Concert of Powers. It marked definitely the establishment of the European Concert.

The day the definitive peace of Paris was signed (November 20, 1815), the representatives of the four powers constituting the Quadruple Alliance--Hardenberg for Prussia, Capodistrias for Russia, Metternich for Austria, and Castlereagh for England--addressed a note to Wellington, confiding to him the command of the allied army that was to occupy France. A conference of the
(12)
ministers of the four courts was established as a means of coordinating the desires of their respective courts,

11. Hertslet, Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. I, p. 372.

12. Wellington Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XI, p. 240.

particularly with respect to "....all affecting the political system to be observed toward France..."
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The ambassadorial conference at Paris was composed of Sir Charles Stuart for England, Count Pozzo di Borgo for Russia, Baron Vincent for Austria, Count Goltz for Prussia, and the Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the allied army of occupation. The prime question to occupy the conference was that of the army of occupation, whose objective was the execution of existing treaty arrangements and the protection of Europe against revolutionary upheavals in France. The conference was to receive frequent reports on the conditions of France from the cabinet of Louis XVIII, who, when restored, had granted a constitution which he had confirmed by royal charter, and which the ambassadorial conference was zealous in maintaining.

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In exercising this surveillance over the government of France, the character of the various ambassadors came into prominence. Pozzo di Borgo was as great a francophile as Sir Charles Stuart was a francophobe. The intense solicitude of Pozzo di Borgo for the stability of

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Phillips in Cambridge Modern History, vol. X, p. 11; Lavissee et Rambaud, Histoire générale du IV Siècle à nos jours, vol. X, ch. 3.

the government by charter is shown in his "Correspondance diplomatique." He felt that he was "une sentinelle in-
 (16)
 fatigable, postée à surveiller le régime interieur de la France." It was he who opposed the intrigues of the king's brother, the Count of Artois, who had made himself the head of the reactionary "ultra-royalist" party in France. He prevented the appointment of the count Blacas, who was a favorite of the count of Artois, to the ministry. He opposed all maneuvers for a change in the ministry, and constantly sought to bring about a more moderate chamber of deputies. Moreover, Russian influence at Paris was
 (17)
 emphasized when the duc de Richelieu became head of the ministry, 24 September, 1815. For as a French émigré during the Revolution, he had been governor of Odessa, hence was wont to call himself the "sujet adoptif" of Alexander in his letters to the Czar. This close con-
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16. Correspondance diplomatique du comte Pozzo di Borgo, ambassadeur de Russie en France, et du comte de Nesselrode, depuis la restauration des Bourbons jusqu'au congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle. This correspondence is largely duplicated in Sbornik Imperatorskago (Recueil de la Societe historique russe). vols. CXII and CXIX.

17. For a detailed account of Pozzo di Borgo's activities see Martens, Recueil des Traites et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, vol. XIV, p. 356 ff.

18. See Sbornik Imperatorskago vol. LVI for letters showing the intimacy between Richelieu and Alexander; also, Martens, Recueil des Traites et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, vol. XIV.

nection between the Russian and French courts was not without important consequences. Pozzo di Borgo, as well as his master Alexander, became objects of suspicion, especially of the Austrian court. Pozzo was dubbed the "patron redoutable de la France." He became its open champion, first, in the attempt at a reduction of the army of occupation, then in the settlement of the claims against the French government, and in the complete evacuation of French territory, and finally in obtaining the admission of France to the European state system.

Wellington, commander-in-chief of the army of occupation, was the l'homme nécessaire for the work of the ambassadorial committee. His consent was necessary to give its work the sanction of the army of occupation. So it was Wellington, fortunately, rather than the francophobe Sir Charles Stuart, who really carried out the British policy toward France. Still more fortunately, it was Castlereagh who determined the British policy. He did not subscribe to the suspicions of Metternich against the Russian court. In fact, his private instructions to English diplomatists caution against such suspicion. Thus Wellington, supported by Castlereagh, co-

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18. Castlereagh to Rose, 28 December, 1815; Castlereagh to Clancarty, 7 August, 1816; Castlereagh to Stuart, 17 December, 1816 in Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. XI, p. 105, 275, 330. See also quotations by Webster in "Some Aspects of Castlereagh's Foreign Policy" in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd series, vol. IV.

operated with Pozzo di Borgo, who was supported by Alexander, in a constructive French policy.

This constructive policy is shown by the steps taken towards stabilizing the government of Louis XVIII. The army of occupation was used by Wellington for that purpose since upon it depended the internal security of France. However, if the expenditure necessary for its
(19) maintenance exceeded the limit of French credit, it would then defeat its own purpose, and Richelieu was quick to realize this. In June, 1816, he urged the reduction of the financial burden of France as a means of strengthening the government, by reducing the army of occupation, which was possible because of a confidential note of 20 November, 1815, in which the allies had confirmed a promise made during the treaty negotiations for a gradual reduction, if circumstances permitted. The army of oc-
(20) cupation was composed of 150,000 men, the four great powers each furnishing 30,000 men, and the smaller powers providing the remaining 30,000. Richelieu wanted a reduction of 20,000. Wellington, however, thought it prudent, because of the disorders due to poor crops, to retain the whole army, but did agree to curtail the cost

19. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 75 ff.

20. Wellington Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XI, 537 - 543.

of maintenance by 10,000,000 francs per annum. But Rich-
 elieu succeeded in convincing Pozzo di Borgo of the neces-
 sity of a reduction of the army to preserve the king's
 popularity, and by January 1817, Wellington agreed to
 a reduction of 30,000 men, which was effected three months
 later.

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Reduction of the army of occupation was financially
 most expedient, since besides the cost of maintaining the
 army of occupation, France was burdened (by the definitive
 treaty of Paris of 20 November, 1815) with an indemnity
 of 700,000,000 francs. This indemnity was to be paid in
 fifteen equal instalments, due 31 March, 1816, and every
 four months thereafter for five years. Due to the as-
 sistance of English and Dutch banking houses, France was
 able to pay these instalments punctually. Moreover, France
 had promised in 1814 to pay compensation to private claim-
 ants for damages inflicted by her armies; the claims to
 be examined by a mixed commission. Some of these claims
 were preposterous. For instance, the duke of Anhalt-

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21. Brialmont and Gleig, Wellington, vol. III, ch. 2.

22. Wellington Supplementary Despatches, vol. XI, p. 427,
 441, 481, 485, 507, 514, 515, 537, 538, 556, 561,
 563, 571, 586, 589.

23. Hertzslet: Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. I, p. 356.

24. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 81.

25. Vaulabelle: Histoire des deux restaurations, vol. IV,
 p. 477.

Bernburg claimed back-pay for four thousand horsemen that had come to the assistance of Henry IV. The claims reached the fabulous sum of 1,600,000,000 francs. Obviously (26) a reduction was necessary for the preservation of French credit. When the powers could reach no agreement (27) as to the basis of the reduction, Richelieu by threat of resignation brought things to an impasse. However, due mainly to the insistence of Pozzo di Borgo upon some solution, Alexander suggested that Wellington be made the (28) final court of decision of the allied claims, and through (29) patient effort, Wellington, by April, 1818, brought about a convention for the settlement of the claims.

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The total claims delivered in were	1,600,000,000 fr.
By April 1818 the French govt had paid off	180,000,000
and had rejected as inadmissible	30,000,000
This left a balance of	1,390,000,000

A settlement was now reached at	320,800,000
or a little more than one-fifth the total sum.	

Of this the continental powers received	240,800,000
England by separate treaty received	60,000,000
Spain by separate treaty received	20,000,000

26. Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860, 2nd series, vol. XXII, p. 216 ff.

27. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 82.

28. See Correspondance Diplomatique, between Pozzo di Borgo and Nesselrode, vol. II.

29. Alexander to Wellington, 30 October, 1817, Wellington Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 119.

30. Martens, Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, Vol. XIV, p. 381.

This obligation of 320,800,000 francs was to be discharged in the form of French Rentes amounting to 16,040,000, which were to be inscribed on the Great Book of the Public Debt of France, thus becoming marketable security.

(31)

As a consequence of this arrangement, the public finances of France became so stable that the complete evacuation of the army of occupation was possible at the end of the third year. However, other measures were prerequisites to the complete evacuation of France by the army of security. Such was the reorganization of the French army by Gouvion-Saint-Cyr. A law of recruiting was passed creating an army capable of guaranteeing internally the independence and stability of the country. Further, an outer system of defense was erected in the Netherlands with English financial support.

With the work of the ambassadorial conference at Paris in eliminating from French politics the extremes of royalism and liberalism, and in bringing about a gen-

31. See report of Richelieu to Chambers in Archives Parlementaires de 1787 a 1860, 2nd series, vol. XXII, p. 216 ff. An account in English of the settlement is found in Gentleman's Magazine June 1818 and May 1818. An excellent account is found in Vaulabelle's Histoire des deux restaurations, vol. IV, p. 476 ff. The convention is found in D'Angeberg's Le Congres de Vienne, vol. II.

32. For details see Stern's Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 132.

erous settlement of French financial obligations--chiefly through the cooperation of Pozzo di Borgo and Wellington--France had been prepared for complete evacuation.

Another vexing question that was to come eventually before the allied ambassadors at Paris was that of mediation between Spain and her colonies in South America, in revolt since 1810. Originally Spain desired the mediation of England alone. (33) The English policy, however, as determined by Castlereagh, was that mediation should apply to all the colonies and that no force should be used. Spain refused these conditions and after repeated attempts to win British assistance on other conditions, by offers of special commercial privileges, had failed, Spain turned to other powers for assistance.

The Spanish-colonies question, moreover, was at this time complicated by a dispute between Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese government, from its seat of authority in Brazil, had invaded the Banda Oriental, which was claimed as part of her colonial possessions by Spain. This dispute was brought before the allied ambassadors at Paris for mediation. The Duke of Fernan-Hunez, who at London had carried on long diplomatic

33. The outstanding discussions of this question are those of Dexter Perkins on "Russia and the Spanish Colonies" in the American Historical Review, vol. XXVIII, p. 656 ff; and of C. K. Webster on "Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies," in the English Historical Review, vol. XXVII, p. 78 ff.

negotiations for British assistance, was now the Spanish ambassador at Paris. On 2 July, 1817, he submitted a new note on the controversy with Portugal, intimating that Spain would not be averse to a mediation in the question of her colonies.

Here was an opening for Pozzo di Borgo to extend the scope of the mediation, so as to include the whole question of Spain and her revolted colonies. He immediately won the support of the Austrian and Russian ambassadors and the next day of Richelieu, for this project. Sir Charles Stuart, however, was opposed to such a course until he had heard from his government.

Actually, the Russian court, though sympathetic toward the Spanish, had no intention of interfering openly in its behalf. However, the Russian agent at Madrid, Count Tatishcheff, had other intentions. He had acquired a dominant position at the court of Spain, which he used to stir up Spanish jealousy of British commercial activity in South America. It is even probable that he contemplated Russian naval assistance in return for the
(33)
cession of Minorca. At least rumors of such an arrangement reached most of the courts of Europe, although when

33. See Lawson, "The Relation of British Policy to the Declaration of the Monroe Doctrine", in Columbia University Studies, vol. CIII, p. 13, 14, 77, 80, for a discussion of England's commercial interests in South America.

Castlereagh inquired at St. Petersburg concerning it, he was answered ^{by} a categorical denial.

In a notable memoir of 28 August, 1817, Castlereagh laid down the terms upon which Spanish Colonial mediation might take place. The fundamental principle in which he differed from Pozzo di Borgo was that every element of force should be distinctly excluded. Another consideration was that Spain should sign a satisfactory treaty with Great Britain on the slave trade before mediation were undertaken. The British opposition to measures of coercion annoyed Pozzo di Borgo. This, he declared, was "....a premature avowal, calculated to render all the rest futile..." He resented, too, a suggestion that negotiations be removed to London. By linking the colonial mediation with that between Spain and Portugal, he sought to make Paris the seat of the conferences. However, the possibility of coercive measures was shattered when the various courts of Europe acquiesced in the terms laid down by Castlereagh.

These designs of Pozzo di Borgo to use mediation based on coercion were misconstrued by the governments of the new world and falsely ascribed to the court of St. Petersburg. "Our whole object," wrote Capodistrias to Pozzo, "is to bring Spain within the circle of the

great alliance, and that in conjunction with Great Britain." Pozzo himself later sought fruitlessly to have Spain (35) admitted to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the whole question might be considered anew.

The mediation between Spain and Portugal meanwhile continued at Paris without results. The plan was to have Portugal give up the Banda Oriental to a Spanish force sent to receive it. Then Spain would have a base in Montevideo for operations against the insurgents. Palmella, the Portuguese representative at Paris, accepted this plan, but it was not accepted by Spain at the time the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle opened.

The ambassadors at Paris, in exercising a surveillance over the internal affairs of France, desired at times to extend this to other countries. The dread of Napoleon's return was still very real. When numerous (36) seditious and libellous prints appeared in the Netherlands, which at this time was the haven of all kinds of political offenders, various proposals were made for suppressing them. Metternich suggested that the ambassadorial conference act as a sort of supervisory committee over the smaller powers. In this Castlereagh was willing (37)

35. Ibid., vol. CXIX, p. 244.

36. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, shows to what extent the powers of Europe dreaded Napoleon's return.

37. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 70.

to acquiesce. However, when Vincent was ordered to suggest that the conference become the means of suppressing revolutionary intrigues throughout Europe, and when the conference, following this suggestion, sent a circular dispatch to various small countries, Castlereagh saw that it had overstepped its powers. He was quick to bring it back to a proper sense of its limitations. He wrote to Glancarty, the English representative at the Hague: "The whole management of this police question will require great delicacy, and we must have no more circular letters...which cannot fail...to diminish our means of managing by negotiation what common interests may require." Henceforth all the ambassadors could do was to urge upon the king of the Netherlands the need of legislation for the suppression of libel and sedition.

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Another question entrusted to the ambassadorial conference in 1816 was that of the succession to the duchy of Parma. By the treaty of Fontainebleau, of April 1814, Parma had been given to Marie Louise, the

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38. Ibid.

39. Castlereagh to Glancarty, 7 August, 1817, in Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. XI, p. 370.

40. See Wellington's Supplementary Despatches, vol. XI, p. 464, 469, 471, 477, 692, 695, 723, 739, 747 etc.

41. Prokesch-Osten: Dépêches inédites du chevalier de Gentz aux Hospodars de Valachie, vol. I, p. 307-316.

Austrian wife of Napoleon. At the Congress of Vienna, where England supported the claims of the Spanish Bourbons, the succession to the duchy was left open, and Spain had refused to ratify the Final Act of Vienna until assured of the succession. Marie Louise then prevailed upon Alexander to support the claims of her son, the young Napoleon, by a secret agreement with Austria. Becoming suspicious, Castlereagh pressed for general negotiations that should determine the fate of Parma. He received an evasive reply from the court of St. Petersburg. It could not negotiate before consulting the court of Vienna, with which it had "engagements particuliers." Metternich must either deny this flatly, or expose the secret arrangement. He chose the latter course. The secret agreement was thus broken; Russia readily concurred in the dispositions made by June 6, 1817, for the eventual succession to the duchy of Parma; and Spain acceded to the "general act" of the Congress of Vienna.

(42)

A second conference center similar to that at Paris was Frankfort-am-Main, the meeting place of the Federal Diet of the Germanic Confederation. This confederation, as constituted by the Vienna Congress, was composed of thirty-eight states, including Prussia and Austria. All

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42. Ibid.

43. See Pollard on "The Germanic Confederation" in Cambridge Modern History, vol. X, p. 340 ff.

were represented at the Diet, over which the Austrian representative presided. Austria was represented by Buol-Schauenstein. Hanlein was appointed the first Prussian representative, when Baron von Stein refused the position.

The basis of the Germanic confederation was a Federal Act sponsored by the four great powers at the Congress of Vienna. The interpretation of this Act would determine the whole character of the confederation. It was this consideration that led both England and Russia to send representatives to Frankfort, who were formally accredited at the Diet. However, at no time did either of them take an active part in its work. Their task was more one of providing information to their governments. The Earl of Clancarty, in addition to his embassy at the Hague, represented Great Britain at Frankfort while Baron Anstett represented Russia.

When the Diet opened on 5 November, 1816, an extensive program had been outlined for it by the Federal Act. The first question was the effective organization of the confederation itself. The Diet had been given ^{no} means of executing any of its decrees. The success of its

44. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, 297-300.

45. Hirschfeld: "Ein Staatsman der alten Schule," in Deutsche Rundschau, vol. LXXIX, p. 429.

work depended entirely on the extent to which each federating state was willing to delegate its sovereignty to federal authority. Prince Hardenberg, the Prussian chancellor of state, was convinced of the futility of the confederation as organized by the Federal Act. He instructed his representative, Hanlein, to draw up a scheme by which the Austrian Emperor was to be always German emperor and the Prussian ruler, German king. An Austro-Prussian hegemony would thus be created which would give substance to the confederation. Hanlein found support for his plan in Buol-Schauenstein, the Austrian representative, but when Metternich learned of this scheme, he instructed his representative to give it no support whatsoever. He had no intention of ignoring the sovereign (46) rights of the smaller powers. Hardenberg, to retrace his steps, replaced Hanlein with William von Humboldt, who after vainly trying to repair this mistake retired in disgust. Castlereagh, though regarding the Austro-Prussian (47) hegemony as essential to the stability of the continent, insisted "....that this intercourse (of foreign powers at the Diet) should not degenerate into...a species of intermeddling in the internal affairs of the Germanic body." (48)

46. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, 297-300.

47. Cambridge Modern History, vol. X, p. 340 ff.

48. Quoted by Webster. The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 116.

Prussia had incurred the enmity of all the smaller German states through the project of Hanlein for an Austro-Prussian hegemony. The Prussian government, to assure its international position and to remove its foreign policy from confederate control, now withdrew East and West Prussia, and Posen from the confederation.

(49)

With this withdrawal, the Austrian influence was paramount at the Germanic Diet. The Austrian policy was determined by Metternich. Prior to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, he took no steps toward a definite organization of the confederation. In fact, as yet the only step actually taken by the Diet in that direction was to definitely deny to the "mediatised" princes a collective vote in the assemblies of the Diet. Metternich, however, did take part in the discussions of the Federal Diet on the German military system just before the opening of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. He was very much elated by the results of his "direct interposition", to which he ascribed the compromise measure of October 12. In his opinion this measure covered "all the main and detail questions of a thorough military organization", and was

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49. Cambridge Modern History, vol. X, p. 340 ff.

50. Ibid.

51. Hirschfeld: Ein Staatsman der alten Schule, in Deutsche Rundschau, vol. LXXIX, p. 439. Also Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 462.

of the utmost importance to the approaching congress, in that it made Germany "waffen-fähig" just at the time when France was to be evacuated.

(52)

Another question left to the Federal Diet was the regulation of the future status of the Jews. The treaty of Vienna contained definite provisions guaranteeing the full rights of citizens to the Jews of Frankfort. The city ignored these provisions, passing discriminating ordinances against them. The four concerted powers twice demanded that unless the Diet took jurisdiction, Frankfort should repeal its ordinances. When these demands were of no avail, the Jews appealed to the Diet. A commission on the subject was appointed in September, 1818, shortly before the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle opened.

(54)

A tedious dispute arose between Austria, Bavaria, and Baden. At the Congress of Vienna, the first two had agreed to certain territorial exchanges, which Bavaria later refused to carry out. After much dickering, a

52. Metternich to Francis, 19 September, 7 October, 1818. Aus Metternich's Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 155, 157.

53. An authoritative account is that of Kohler: Jewish Rights at the Congress of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle.

54. For action taken at Frankfort see Gentz, Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. 316. Also Le Moniteur Universelle, 25 September, 1818.

treaty was signed at Munich on April, 1816, by which Austria was to get the principality of Salzburg, with the Innruckviertel and Hausruckviertel, while Bavaria was to be compensated, according to secret stipulations, by some districts of the Grand Duchy of Baden. A territorial commission of the four great powers was to^{be} set up at Frankfort. Wessenberg represented Austria, Humboldt Prussia, Anstett Russia, and Clancarty England. This commission was to decide upon the compensation due Bavaria. Alexander supported the grand duke of Baden, his brother-in-law, in his refusal to supply Bavaria the necessary compensation. Castlereagh supported Bavaria. He tried, however, to effect a compromise by supporting the claim to monetary compensation of Eugene de Beauharnais, a brother-in-law of the grand duke of Baden and a favorite of Alexander, but no settlement was reached. (56)
The question remained open until after the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

A third conference center of the Quadruple Alliance was that at London. The General Act of the Congress of Vienna which as signed by all participating European powers, had contained a special declaration condemning the traffic in slaves. As a means of making this dec- (57)

56. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 117.

57. Hertslet: Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. I, p. 350.

laration effective, Castlereagh had secured at Vienna a permanent ambassadorial conference of the great European powers for London. Count Esterhazy was the Austrian member, (58) William von Humboldt the first Prussian, Count Lieven the Russian, and Lord Castlereagh, who had a genuine interest in the abolition of Slavery, was the British representative. Holland and Sweden had abolished the slave trade completely shortly after the Congress of Vienna. France under Napoleon had also abolished it during the Hundred Days. Spain and Portugal still carried on the traffic.

Though the three great powers--Austria, Prussia, and Russia--consistently supported Castlereagh in his efforts toward abolition, little was achieved by the conference. However, since Spain and Portugal were dependent on England for numerous benefits, Castlereagh pursued a course toward them independently of the other powers. He bargained with them for the complete abolition of the slave trade. By these direct negotiations he succeeded in concluding a treaty, by 23 September, 1817, with Spain. (59) In return for £400,000 Spain agreed to immediately abolish the traffic north of the equator, and to completely abolish it after 30 May, 1820. A limited right of visit- (60)

58. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 457.

59. Ibid., p. 456 ff.

60. Treaties in British and Foreign State Papers.

and search was conceded to the British fleet. With Portugal he obtained a treaty whereby the trade was abolished immediately north of the equator, but allowed south of the equator for another five years. A limited right of visit and search was granted by Portugal, also. By a treaty of 4 May, 1818, Castlereagh also obtained a restricted right of visit and search from the Netherlands. Castlereagh had secured the right of visit and search from Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands as the only really effective way of enforcing the prohibition of the slave trade. It was his purpose to extend this right to all the abolitionist powers by mutual agreement, and in February 1818, he made this proposal to the London conference.

(63)

Besides the question of the slave trade, that of the depredations of the Barbary pirates came before the London conference. Alexander suggested the formation of a maritime league against them. Castlereagh agreed to this league upon condition that the mutual right of

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61. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 456 ff.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. See Prokesch-Osten: Dépêches inédites du chevalier de Gentz aux Hospodars de Valachie, vol. I, p. 340-353; also Mikhailowitch: Alexander 1^{er}, vol. II, p. 258; also Martens, Recueil des Traités et Conventions, vol. XI for a detailed account of the maritime league.

search from all the powers be granted. France, who was represented at the London conference by Marquis d'Osmond, opposed both the plans of Castlereagh and of Alexander. Consequently no progress was made prior to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Another problem before the London conference was the execution of the treaty of Kiel. By this treaty Norway was ceded to Sweden by Denmark. The cession involved financial obligations on the part of Sweden. These Bernadotte refused to carry out and the conference was powerless to act in the matter.

Briefly, then, by 1818, the conference centers of the four great powers at Paris, Frankfort and London had accomplished the following:

At Paris the constitutional government of Louis XVIII had been firmly intrenched, and its finances had been ordered. The possibility of revolutionary convulsions within France had been further decreased by the reorganization of the French army. The threat of French aggression abroad had been dispelled by the fortifications erected on the Netherland's frontier. The army of occupation was thus no longer necessary in France. The mediation between Spain and Portugal, assigned to the Paris conference, had reached a deadlock. The mediation between Spain and her colonies, attached to the Spanish-Portuguese question by Pozzo di Borgo, was withdrawn from the purview of the conference, when Castlereagh laid down

the British terms of mediation.

At Frankfort, where Russia and England had representatives accredited to the Federal Diet of which Austria and Prussia were members, little progress was made either in the better organization of the Germanic Confederation or in the solution of its problems. The rights of the Jews had been assigned to a commission to study the question. The organization of the German military system had been provided for by a compromise measure of October, 1818. The territorial commission of the four great powers had adjusted the dispute between Bavaria and Austria, but had reached an impasse, when compensations were to be made by Baden to Bavaria, for the latter's losses to Austria.

At London, the conference had accomplished little toward the abolition of the slave trade. Independently Castlereagh had secured treaties with Spain and Portugal. His plan of having all powers grant the mutual right of visit and search, as well as that of Alexander for a maritime league were opposed by France. Nothing was accomplished toward making Sweden carry out the treaty of Kiel.

CHAPTER II.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS.

Deliverance from the yoke of the foreign army of occupation was the ardent wish of every French patriot. In his article, La France et les armées d'occupation, 1815-1818, after recounting the miseries and indignities which France had suffered between 1815 and 1818, Pierre Rain concludes that "no consequence of war leaves more rancor or more frightful memories than that irrational, illegal and always unjustifiable arrangement."

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Since no government of France could hope to maintain its power without making endeavors to bring it about, evacuation of France by the army of occupation was the goal of the Richelieu ministry (1815-1818).

(2)

The motives for the occupation of France were defined in a note of 20 November, 1815, by the allied ministers at Paris to Wellington. They were: the execution of all treaty arrangements, and the protection of Europe not only from a direct attack on the part of France, but also from revolutionary convulsions within her borders. Thus the price of evacuation was fulfillment of treaty obligations on the part of France, and stabilization of her

1. Article in Revue des questions historique, vol. LXXXVIII, p. 229.

2. Lavissee et Rambaud, Histoire generale du IVe Siecle à nos jours, vol. X, ch.3.

3. Wellington Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XI, p. 240.

government.

The Richelieu ministry spared no pains to meet the first condition of evacuation. The installments of her indemnity were paid with astounding regularity. But the second condition was more difficult to fulfill. Stability (4) of government, argued Richelieu and Louis XVIII, depended on evacuation. With evacuation would come popular support, and with popular support stability. The solicitations of Richelieu and Louis XVIII for evacuation were made mainly to the Duke of Wellington and to Pozzo di Borgo. Repeatedly the king of France tried to impress upon Wellington (5) the necessity of "popularizing the gouvernement" by bringing about evacuation.

Historians disagree in tracing the steps between the French appeals to Russia and England, and the call for the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. Both F. de Martens and Alfred Stern take no cognizance of any congress proposal earlier than that of the Cabinet of Vienna in 1817. On the other hand, Leon de Crousaz-Cretet in his "Duc de Richelieu en Russie et en France" asserts specifically that the Russian court proposed the Congress, and this is probably

4. Mowat: History of European Diplomacy, 1815-1914, p. 30.

5. See F. de Martens: Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères, vol. XIV on Traités avec la France, 1807-1820.

true.

(6)

Pozzo di Borgo was especially responsive to the desires of the French government. His solicitude for the constitutional development of France, his advocacy first, of the reduction of the army of occupation, then, of the reduction of reparations, and then of complete evacuation has been shown in the preceding chapter. Louis XVIII and Richelieu confided to this "sentinelle indefatigable" the troubles that beset them. When Pozzo sent a query regarding the state of France to the king, the latter categorically put to him the question of evacuation, making it understood that the stability of his government depended upon it. Pozzo di Borgo himself was convinced (7) of the necessity of evacuation, and his master, emperor Alexander was not averse to it.

It is therefore probable that Alexander, recognizing the expediency of evacuation through Pozzo's persistent letters, and welcoming any pretext for a meeting of the sovereigns, made the first official move for it.

Among the places suggested for the congress were Frankfort, Mannheim, Düsseldorf and Aix-la-Chapelle in Germany, and Basel in Switzerland. Various requisites (8)

6. Leon de Crousaz-Crétet: "Duo de Richelieu en Russie et en France", p. 280.

7. Pozzo di Borgo's influence in Paris is shown in F. de Martens: "Recueil des Traités et Conventions", vol. XIV.

8. Prokesch-Osten: "Dépêches inédites", vol. I, p. 383, 384; "Annual Register", 1817, p. 130.

for the congress city were laid down by allied statesmen.
 Metternich and Alexander insisted that it be a city free
 from political interference. Thus it could not be the
 capital city of any country, nor a city in France, since
 inestimable benefits to France were at stake at the con-
 gress. Castlereagh wanted a quiet place "with a view to
 the course of business being as little as may be broken
 in upon by other objects." Other considerations were
 that the Congress city must be conveniently located and
 sufficiently attractive. By July 1817, the emperors
 Alexander and Francis agreed that either Mannheim or
 Aix-la-Chapelle had all the requisites for a Congress.
 The king of Prussia, Frederick William III, however,
 insisted on the latter place, and by April 1818 it was
 generally agreed upon as the place for the reunion.

Once an international congress was resolved upon,
 it became necessary to define in advance its object and
 scope. Two treaties might form the basis of the Congress
 of Aix-la-Chapelle. One was the four-power alliance

9. Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III,
 p. 55; Stern, Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 460;
 Webster, The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 123.

10. Wellington Supplementary Despatches, vol. XII, p. 445.

11. Prokesch-Osten: Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 384.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Treaties in Hertzslet: Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. I,
 p. 356, 372.

treaty of 20 November, 1815, which provided in Article 6 for reunions "at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves, or by their respective ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests." The other treaty was the "Second Peace of Paris", the definitive peace treaty, also of 20 November, 1815, between the four allied powers and France. Thereby the duration of the military occupation of France, which the English and Prussians had wanted to place at seven years, was fixed at five years. Moreover, upon the insistence of the French representatives the provision was added, in article 5, that evacuation might take place after three years, if the allied powers "shall agree to acknowledge that the motives which led them to that measure have ceased to exist."

(15)

This question of treaty authorization would in a measure determine the objects and scope of the Congress. Thus, in making article 6 of the treaty of alliance its basis only the four powers who had acceded thereto would be entitled to participate in the deliberations of the congress; but, in making article 5 of the definitive treaty, and to which all the powers of Europe had acceded, its basis, all the powers, small as well as large, would

15. See Rain, "La France et les armees d'occupation, 1815-1818", in Revue des questions historique, vol. LXXX-VIII, p. 229.

have an interest in the discussion of any of its provisions, and a claim to a share in them.

When the Russian ambassador at London, Count Lieven, suggested to Castlereagh, the possibility of a Congress, the latter immediately observed in a dispatch to the allies on 27 March, 1818, that it would be preferable not to give the name Congress to the next international assembly, but that of "special conferences held under the stipulation of the Treaty of Alliance." This dispatch brought forth an endless exchange of diplomatic correspondence, in which each power stated its position as to the scope and objects of the congress, and which resulted finally in the decision that the ambassadorial conference at Paris should inform the various courts of Europe, of "leur façon de penser sur la reunion prochaine."

(16)

In this diplomatic correspondence it is apparent that Czar Alexander desired a Congress to which all European powers should be admitted at which all "les grandes questions" of Europe should be considered, but that he was not willing for this question to become the rock on which the European concert would break. It is

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16. Martens, Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, vol. XI, p. 270; Wellington Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 445.

17. Prokesch-Osten: Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 385.

18. Ibid., vol. I, p. 383; Mikhailowitch, Alexander I^{er}, vol. II, p. 265.

also apparent that Metternich, under grave misapprehensions as to the designs of Alexander, desired a Congress distinctly limited to the four great powers and to a discussion of the single question of allied relations to France. Castlereagh, in his dispatch of 27 March, had proposed a middle course--a Congress of the four powers with the questions already before the conference centers at Paris, Frankfort and London as its agenda. (19)

Accordingly the various courts scrutinized the two treaty articles which should give the sanction to the Congress, interpreting them to suit their own needs. Alexander thought either article 5 of the definitive treaty of 20 November, 1815, providing for evacuation, or article 6 of the four-power treaty of alliance, providing for periodic reunions might form the basis of the Congress; that in either case it would be desirable to admit the smaller powers, but that if article 5 were its basis it would be necessary to admit them, for they had signed the treaty. These views he expressed in a dispatch of 8 April to his ministers at the various courts of Europe.

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19. Dispatch of 27 March, 1818, in Wellington's Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 445.

20. Dispatch of 8 April, 1818, in Correspondance Diplomatique, vol. II, p. 418, and in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 653.

Metternich in a memorandum of 4 April asserted that article 6 of the four-power treaty of alliance should give authorization to the Congress, whose prime object would be a consideration of evacuation as provided by article 5 of the definitive treaty. He concluded that, having its sanction in the ⁽²¹⁾ treaty of alliance, the four powers would have a right to "récuser l'intervention non qualifiée" of any other power, in the discussion of the questions raised by article 5, even though this other power had signed the definitive treaty. His object, as interpreted by Capodistrias, was "to exclude France and Spain from the European Confederation by this exclusive doctrine."

(22)

According to Gentz, when Alexander saw that neither the cabinets of Vienna, nor London, nor Berlin shared his inclinations for a more extended congress (and hence expanded concert), and when the king of Prussia sent him a letter stating that the reunion must concern itself only with "affaires indispensables, et ne prît pas la tournure d'un Congrès européen," Alexander was readily brought in line with the plans of the other powers.

(23)

Therefore his reply to Castlereagh's dispatch, in a

21. Memorandum of 4 April, 1818, in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 645.

22. Correspondance Diplomatique, vol. II, p. 442; in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 693.

23. Prokesch-Osten: Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 385.

memorandum of 20 April, conceded that only the four great powers should participate in the congress, that only the objects provided by articles 5 and 6 of the two treaties should be considered.

(24)

Alexander also agreed with Castlereagh that the congress might be a suitable occasion for considering "the state of the different political questions pending at the different centers of negotiation established in Europe." To this last proposition Metternich was opposed.

(25)

In a memorandum of 27 April to Vincent he stated that "if one wanted to treat questions in which others have a particular interest, one would only awaken the jealousy and discontent of all the courts. In consequence subjects which have been treated till now in the particular negotiations cannot and must not be evoked at the reunion of the sovereigns."

(26)

So positive a stand by Metternich seemingly was a checkmate to the exchanges between the cabinets. However so much had been accomplished thereby that a way out of the difficulty was found by referring the matter back to the Paris conference from which had come the proposal for the congress on the French issues.

The ambassadorial conference at Paris, eventually,

24. Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 645.

25. *Idem*.

26. Ibid., vol. CXIX.

was assigned the task of making known to the various states of Europe the decisions of the four powers as to the object and scope of the congress. It accordingly drew up a circular signed 25 May.

(27)

This circular of 25 May announced that "the allied sovereigns had decided to meet in the following autumn, to take into consideration, in concert with His Most Christian Majesty, the internal condition of France, and to decide whether the military occupation may cease or be continued." It limited participation in the Congress to the four allied powers who wished "to avoid the unfounded interpretations which might tend to give to their meeting the character of a Congress, and to avert at the same time the intervention of other princes and cabinets in the discussions of which the decision is expressly reserved to themselves." The questions "reserved to themselves" were not defined. The circular further disclaimed the intention of the allies of "drawing to themselves the negotiations begun at Paris, London, and Frankfort, which must be ended at the places where these conferences are established."

(27)

In brief, the circular based the sanction of the

27. Circular of 25 May found in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 717; D'Angeberg, Le Congrès de Vienne, vol. II, p. 1742; Cisternes, Richelieu, p. 34; British and Foreign State Papers, vol. V, p. 1216; Le Moniteur Universelle, 3 July, 1818, p. 797, etc.

Congress on Article 5 of the definitive treaty of 20 November, 1815,^{to} which the European powers, large as well as small, had generally acceded, although it denied to the merely acceding states a share in the Congress. Then it discarded all questions before the conference centers, which should obviously form the real agenda of the Congress. This position was untenable and in the outcome had to be reversed. Hence, it is small wonder that Castlereagh told Humboldt, it was the worst document ever issued by the allied cabinets.

(28)

The allied circular, meeting as it did, most nearly the designs of Metternich, was especially objectionable to Pozzo di Borgo. He believed that Metternich, in limiting the Congress to the four powers, had the "intention of keeping France under a sort of political excommunication in order to paralyze Russian activity."

(29)

When, therefore, the Spanish king Ferdinand VII sent a note the allied ambassadors at Paris, asking an invitation to the Congress, Pozzo di Borgo worked feverishly to that end. The admission of Spain, he declared, "is a preliminary and indispensable measure, without which it will be impossible to concert on a plan at once

28. Humboldt to Bernstorff, 2 June, 1818, cited by Webster, The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 127.

29. Correspondance Diplomatique, vol. II, p. 46; Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 674.

reasonable and practicable." However the scheme was too
 (30)
 obvious, and the ambassadors of Austria and Prussia supported Stuart of Great Britain in denying admission to Spain.
 (31)

Capodistrias, also, was dissatisfied with the 25 May circular. Like Pozzo he believed that a congress based on article 5 of the definitive treaty would arouse the resentment of the smaller powers, who could only be kept quiet by assuring them that the congress would "neither broach nor discuss any questions to which the different negotiations at the conferences of London, Paris and Frankfort had given rise." If such were the
 (32)
 case, he argued, a congress would hardly be necessary.

So when Metternich met Capodistrias at Carlsbad
 16
 on August, 1818, he found him extremely opposed to the form of the reunion. Metternich tried to reassure him by showing that "the fulfilling of a right (that of evacuation of France), and what is more a duty would not excite the jealousy of those who are beyond that right and duty. No government fears the question which

30. Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 794. The effect of admitting Bourbon Spain naturally would have been to strengthen the hand of Russia (her sponsor) and to aid the cause of Bourbon France.

31. Ibid., vol. CXIX, p. 812.

32. Correspondance Diplomatique du Comte Pozzo di Borgo et du Comte de Hesselrode, vol. II, p. 418 ff.
 Also in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 653 ff.

is referred to Aix-la-Chapelle being decided by the five courts, for they are summoned for that purpose; but all governments fear lest the four or five courts should venture to bring forward more than that one business." Metternich was confident that he had already
(33)
gained so much ground with the English and Prussian cabinets, therefore in the conferences he foresaw no possible digression from the course appointed.

The view of Metternich thus seemingly prevailed. The Congress was to consider only one question: that of the relations of the allies to France, and the four allied powers alone were to concert with France on this measure. No wonder Edward Cooke wrote to Castlereagh that he did
(34)
"not expect much from Aix-la-Chapelle, except the admission of France to the confederacy, and the withdrawing of the troops from her frontier." And Clancarty concluded
(35)
that the meeting "would be far from assuming the title of

33. Aus Metternich's Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 141-142.

34. Edward Cooke was an English diplomat of great experience, having worked with Castlereagh in Ireland and at the Congress of Vienna. He resigned from diplomatic service in 1817 on account of bad health, but continued his correspondence with Castlereagh until his death in 1820. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 37.

35. Cooke to Castlereagh, 28 August, 1818, in Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. XI, p. 472 ff.

a Congress, as its functions, confined probably to the examination stated in the 5th article of the treaty of Paris, would differ much from those which had heretofore acquired that appellation." ⁽³⁶⁾ The allied circular of May 25, which was intended to quiet the groundless rumors that were afloat, temporarily aggravated them. It had purposely limited the agenda of the congress to the single question of the allied relations to France in order to deprive the smaller powers of all pretexts for jealousy and suspicion. However, few papers accepted its statement. Further, the postponement of the congress for a fortnight increased the uneasiness of the people and the press. Metternich wrote of France: "The prolonged uncertainty is painful to this country, and must work equally unfavorably on the government and the nation."

(37)

Long before the objects and scope of the congress were officially defined by the allied circular of May 25, speculations were rife concerning them. Two months previously Gentz had written an article for the Vienna "Beobachter", the semi-official paper of Austria, stating that "....everything which has been said, for some

36. Clancarty to Castlereagh, 5 June, 1818 in Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. XI, p. 445 ff.

37. Metternich to Francis, 7 August, 1818, in Aus Metternich's Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 138-139.

months, in the public prints, concerning the object of the approaching meeting of the sovereigns, and the affairs on which they treat, is pure invention." He deplored the tendency of the newspapers, especially in Germany, to manufacture political news, giving currency to all kinds of rumors about the congress.

The Oracle of Aix-la-Chapelle reviewed the various speculations of the press as to the objects of the congress. It said that "...while some papers hold scrupulously to the avowed aim: viz: that the evacuation of France will be the single object of the congress, and that, in accordance with the declaration made in this regard, there can be no other questions; other papers decree unlimited powers to this assembly." Its sensible conclusion is that "...it is obvious that the sovereigns cannot place an invariable limit to their conferences; such would be neither in accordance with their duty, nor to the best interest of statecraft, nor entirely in their power; circumstances may give birth to new considerations or may discard others."

Discussions of potential questions filled the columns of the papers. They thus form an invaluable index

38. Article of Gentz of 26 March in Vienna Beobachter is found in Schlesier: Schriften von Gentz, vol. II, p. 43. Also in Le Moniteur Universelle, 9 April, 1818, p. 439.

39. Article of Oracle is quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 14 September, 1818. p. 1089.

to the then current political aspirations and hopes of the peoples of Europe. Whatever problems needed solution, no matter how local or insignificant their character, were assigned to the approaching congress. It was to provide the panacea for all ills that beset the world. A general program for the congress was that given by the London "Enquirer": viz. 1. the affairs of France, 2. the political relations of the paramount states of Europe, 3. the restoration of peace in both hemispheres. (40)

The Augsburg "Gazette Universelle" (Bavaria) stated that while "....the affairs of France will be the object of the formal discussions, it is impossible that those of Germany will be excluded from them; they will in a large measure furnish the basis of judgment in considering conditions of France. The interests of various existing treaties, at the head of which are the Holy Alliance and the Germanic Confederation; the interests of the constitutional system which is constantly becoming more firm and more extended; in short all the interests that are bound up with the general state of civilization in Europe: that of commerce, of free navigation of rivers, of liberty of the press, of mutual

40. Article of Enquirer is quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 26 June, 1818, p. 769; also in National Intelligencer, 3 September, 1818, vol. XIX, no. 2801.

relations of citizens, of religious tolerance, all these objects and numerous others cannot help but prevail upon the sovereigns at their reunion, though they do not furnish the object of their assembling."

(41)

The London "Courier" likewise published on 17 August its guess as to the questions likely to come up before the congress. The article conjectures that the congress must give much attention to Germanic affairs (42) "which," it adds, "are now in hopeless confusion as a result of the dissolution of the ancient bonds that united them; and the looseness and imperfection of the new bonds that have replaced them. This will be a task of great delicacy." It would probably require making territorial readjustments here and there. The prime importance of this problem in the mind of its editor is shown by the following excerpt from a later issue of the "Courier". It declares: "We know that many people regard Germany in this moment as a sort of smoldering volcano, whose eruptions will soon shake the settlements of the sovereign allies to their foundation. Though

41. Article of Gazette Universelle dated 29 June is quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle of 13 July 1818, p. 837.

42. Article of Courier quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 9 September 1818, p. 1069.

43. Article of Courier quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 8 September 1818, p. 1066.

we do not share this view, we believe nevertheless that the political aspect of the states that border the Rhine is a matter worthy of attention. We believe also that it will require all the sagacity, prudence and firmness at the disposal of the approaching congress to conciliate the discordant interests of these little rival states, so as to consolidate all in one common political system, working constantly towards a common end."

Despite its unofficial character, the article of the "Courier" created quite a furore in the press of the continent. Gentz wrote: "French and German papers vie with each other in stressing the importance of this article."

(44)

The German papers chiefly resented the haughty tone of the "Courier". The "Merkuer" of Swabia considered the possibility of an intervention in German affairs by the Congress as ridiculous. It denied that any territorial
(45)
adjustments would be made. It reminded the "Courier" that the Federal act of the Germanic Confederation was guaran-

44. Gentz in an article in the Beobachter September, 1818, quoted by Allgemeine Zeitung 25 September, by Le Moniteur Universelle, 1 October, etc. It is found in Schlesier: Schriften von Gentz, vol. II, p. 63-66. A. W. Ward in a review of Briefe von und an Friedrich von Gentz in English Historical Review, vol. XXVIII, p. 589, says Gentz "....appears as a kind of supreme director of journalistic influences.."

45. Article of the Merkuer is quoted by Le Moniteur Universelle, 9 September, 1818, p. 1069.

teed by all the states of Europe and could not be changed at will. It piquantly added "....that one could not follow the same policy with regard to German princes as with regard to the Nabobs in India." Likewise an article in the Stuttgart paper takes exception to the intervention (46) in German affairs, mentioned by the "Courier." But in contrast to this attitude is that of the "Mainzer Zeitung" in an article entitled "The Voice of the Peoples", which looked upon the statements of the "Courier" as a "....joyous token, which must fill every European court with gratitude toward the monarchs." This paper then added (47) to the "program" of the "Courier", a list of questions of its own, which it would like to see brought before the Congress. These include: "....the reestablishment of the Cortes in Spain, the exchange of Portugal for the Spanish possessions in America, parliamentary reform in England, the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, the allotment of German territory among five or six princely houses and many other such radical steps."

After reviewing the extravagant expectations from the Congress of the various newspapers, Gentz in an ar-

46. Article of Stuttgart paper cited by Gentz in article in Beobachter, September, 1818, quoted by Allgemeine Zeitung, 25 September, by Le Moniteur Universelle, 1 October, etc. It is found in Schriften von Gentz, vol. II, p. 63-66.

47. Ibid.

ticle in the semi-official Vienna newspaper, "Beobachter" concludes that the allies "....will take cognizance only of objects of immediate necessity, for consideration and ratification. Whatever else may be desired, demanded or planned to promote the genuine welfare of the people must be left to their individual governments."

(48)

Throughout the speculations of the press as to the issues to be considered by the Congress and as to its nature, there is, significantly, a steady and unvaried confidence shown in the sovereigns and their ministers and in the arrangements they are likely to make at Aix-la-Chapelle. Most of the papers, indeed, welcomed the Congress as a ray of hope on the political horizon, to dispel many of the vexing problems that darkened each country. The "Gazette Universelle" thought it would "....open a vast field to salutary influences." It believed that

(49)

the discussions would not only result in immediate settlements, but would also clear the way for the solution of many difficulties at some future time or place. It thought constitutional systems might come up for consideration, and saw in the liberal discourse of Alexander in Poland an indication of the sentiments that would

48. Ibid.

49. Article of Gazette Universelle dated 29 June is quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle of 13 July, 1818, p. 837.

prevail at the Congress. The "Oracle" seeks to dispel the fears of some that the sovereigns will conclude arrangements inimical to liberal organizations, asserting that "....these are the same sovereigns, the same ministers, who at the fall of foreign despotism (Napoleon), instituted liberal reforms; who have excited among the Germans, Italians, Poles and even French, a new ardor for liberty; who have granted and promised representative institutions, who founded the Holy Alliance and Germanic Confederation." Gentz, who as Metternich's
(50)
penman for the Vienna "Beobachter", agrees with the "Courier" that "....peace and not war, preservation and not innovation, strengthening of the existing order and not its undermining, would be the sole object of the discussions at Aix-la-Chapelle."

(51)

Metternich, whom historians have depicted as the very spirit of reaction is praised for his "liberal ideas" by the "Journal de Francfort", and is characterized as "....a minister so distinguished for his knowledge and for his zeal for the public good." And
(52)
Castlereagh, who has suffered little less at the hands

50. Article of Oracle is quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 14 September, 1818, p. 1089.

51. Gentz in Beobachter September, 1818.

52. Article of Journal de Francfort is quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 16 September 1818, p. 1097.

of historians, is eulogized by the "Courier" when he is about to leave for Aix-la-Chapelle. In communicating this news, the "Courier" had "...the satisfaction of knowing that the interests, not only of England, but of all Europe, are protected....There is no man who better understands the actual political conditions of Europe, for, in truth, they are the work of his hands as well as those of the allied ministers. Universal peace has been the first result of his efforts; it remained to consolidate this peace by wise dispositions; and that is the agreeable task he will fulfill at Aix-la-Chapelle." (53)

These various discussions of the press prior to the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in effect naturally tended to separate actualities from mere speculation and supposition, tempered the expectations of the people and clarified their views as to the real possibilities of the Congress. No one was more influential than Gents, whose articles were given wide publicity, in dispelling the illusions of enthusiasts, who saw in the approaching congress a solution of all the ills of the world. Further, the tacit acceptance of evacuation as an accomplished fact, and the open avowal of trust in the sovereigns and their ministers created an attitude

53. Article of Courier is quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 25 August, 1818, p. 1010. cf. note 42.

auspicious for the success of the congress. ¶ Meantime, beside such general cultivation of public opinion special local preparations were under way for the event.

When the city ^{learned} of its choice for the Congress, great preparations were undertaken, which filled the columns of newspapers for months. Everyone was astir, with nothing but the Congress on their lips. "One cannot imagine the activity that reigns in our city at the present time," says a local report of 22 August. "The plaster-
(54)
ers, painters, upholsterers, carpenters hardly know to whom to listen, and can get whatever pay they wish: it will be the strangers who will pay in the last resort." "The city seems to be newly constructed" one reads in another report of 2 October.

(55)

Aix-la-Chapelle became the focus of the whole continent. Practically all the monarchs of Europe hoped to go there. An exodus of people from all parts of the continent began, whose number Esterhazy estimated at fifty thousand.

(56)

Provisions were made in advance for the diversion of the guests. "Our theatre", reads a local report of

54. Quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 22 August 1818, p. 997.

55. Quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 2 October, p. 1163.

56. Gentz: Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. 299. Actually not one-tenth that many came.

18 September, "will be very brilliant during the congress. The present personnel will remain, but it will be augmented by the best artists of the various theatres of Germany. The celebrated Herr Esslair has been engaged. The best singers and dancers will come here." Besides (57) German artists came Herr Johann Mueller, the famous prophet of Frankfort, who, when refused permission to exercise his talents, spitefully predicted the return of Napoleon in six months. Fraulein Mina Reinhardt, the (58) German aeronaut, came to divert the crowds. From France (59) arrived dancers of the Parisien opera, the singers M. Fabry-Garat, and the Bohrer brothers, the celebrated (60) (61) violinist M. Lafont, the violin prodigy Larsonneur, age (62) (63) seven and a half, the aeronaut Mlle. Elisa Garnerin, (64) the fortune-teller Mlle. Lenormand. Emperor Francis II (65)

57. Quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 22 September, 1818, p. 1122.

58. Daudet: "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle", in Le Correspondant, 1907, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 49.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 48-49. Also Le Moniteur Universelle, 3 October, 3 September, 1818.

60. Le Moniteur Universelle, 22 September, p. 1122.

61. *Ibid.*, 15, 18, 28 September.

62. *Ibid.*, 15, 18, 28 September.

63. *Ibid.*, 3 August.

64. *Ibid.*, 8 September.

65. *Ibid.*, 3 October, 3 September. Also in Daudet: "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle," in Le Correspondant, 1907, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 49.

of Austria induced the eminent Italian singer of the
(66)
Vienna opera, Madam Catalani, to come to the city.

(67)
For the reception of the monarchs elaborate preparations were made. The moment they arrived in a Prussian province, since Aix-la-Chapelle was Prussian soil, they would be received by its military and civil leaders, who were to accompany them to the neighboring province, where they would again be received, and so on, "toujours en gala", until they reached their destination. Wherever they stayed, the city was to be illuminated throughout the night. The cities were to receive them with the ringing of bells and the roar of guns. On reaching a
(68)
little village two leagues from Aix-la-Chapelle they would enter a double column of soldiers, who were to be meticulously dressed and equipped, and between this column they would enter the city.

Arrangements for lodging were made early by the diplomats and sovereigns. The townsmen they found quite unscrupulous in raising prices of rent. "More than one proprietor", reads a local report of 22 August, "will draw more rent from his house during the conferences, than he paid for it."
(69)

66. Le Moniteur Universelle.

67. Ibid., 20 August.

68. Ibid., 17, 22, 26 September.

69. Ibid., 22 August.

The principal houses were rented "à des prix assez forts." For instance, the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria each paid 10,000 francs a month rent, the Czar of Russia paid 26,000 francs for his country home and 30,000 francs for his city home for the duration of the Congress.

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For the tables of the sovereigns, states a local report of 22 September, contracts for provisions "....have been entered into at very considerable sums. The forest-
(71)
ers have received orders relative to the quantity of game they are bound to provide weekly. Arrangements have been made to procure the finest fish that our rivers produce; and fly-chariots are established for the conveyance of oysters and salt water fish from Antwerp to Aix-la-Chapelle, with the utmost rapidity."

For military fetes and marches--and incidentally for preserving order--various detachments of troops were authorized by the chief burgomaster Guaita and a deputation of five other townsmen, to come to the city. First,
(72)
there was a battalion of temporary guards of eight hun-

70. Ibid., 18, 28 July, 3, 22 September; also Hanoteau, Lettres de Prince de Metternich à la Comtesse de Lieven, p. LVIII

71. Le Moniteur Universelle, 22 September, quoted by the National Intelligencer 19 November, vol. XIX, no. 2834.

72. Le Moniteur Universelle, 20, 22, 27 August; 2, 7, 17, 19, 21, 25, 30 September.

dred men, composed of four companies: one from the guard of Czar Alexander, one from the guard of Emperor Francis, one from the landwehr of the Lower Rhine, and one from the landwehr of Westphalia. Then there was a battalion of musketeers from the Lower Rhine; and a squadron of hussars from the Lower Rhine, with one hundred forty horses. Besides these, there arrived on 24 September, a battalion of infantry and a detachment of one hundred hussars.

Provisions were also taken to insure secrecy for the diplomatic conferences. The Prussian police organized a highly-efficient secret service system. Under it all valets, before accepting employment, must first take an oath and give a bond of 400 francs; all servants must carry cards of approval. The Prussian agents were ordered to shadow suspicious individuals. The measures of precaution, one learns from local reports, were rigorously enforced. So relentlessly was one of the French spies watched, that he wrote in despair: "They lie in wait for my departure, and follow me to the gambling table, along the promenade outside the city, into the cafes, to the theatre, in a word, to all public places."

73. See Dandet: "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle", in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 41. See Le Moniteur Universelle, 24 July, 15, 28 September, 3 October.

When I return at night, one of them is before my house to make sure lest I slip out again. When I dine, they are before my restaurant window."

(74)

The French government, which had great interests at stake at the Congress, naturally did make extraordinary efforts to penetrate the secrecy that was to enshroud the conferences, and that the Prussian police were so vigilant in maintaining. It actually expended 9,000,000 francs for this purpose. The French minister of police organized a squad of spies, chosen with great care, and containing men of good repute, who would be admitted into the inner diplomatic circles. These spies secured the help of the doorkeeper of Hardenberg. He "costs us dearly", reads their secret report, "but he will be of inestimable use to us, for it is there that the sovereigns unite most frequently."

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The press of Europe, realizing the news value of the Congress, also made their preparations for gathering information. The principal papers of Paris and

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74. Daudet, op, cit. supra, p. 59.

75. Stuart to Castlereagh, 25 January, 1819, Hist. MSS. Com. Repts: Earl Bathurst Papers.

76. The article of Daudet on Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle, in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, is based on the secret reports of the French spies.

77. Cisternes: Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 37; Daudet: op. cit. supra, p. 40.

London sent representatives. The London "Morning Chronicle" sent the famous Mr. Perry, the Paris "Minerve" sent Moreau de Cammagny, the "Journal de Paris" M. Maisseau.

"One is astonished here," reads a local account of 26 September, "at the assurance with which several foreign newspapers and periodicals announce their intention of rendering account of the meetings of the Congress. It seems they are deceived as to the nature of the meetings of the conferences and it is probable that the observers will get no farther than the door." Their pitiful efforts to gather news are described by a letter of 9 October from Aix-la-Chapelle. It reads: "It is indeed comical to see their disappointment, for, aside from learning of dinners, balls, promenades, the arrival and departure of strangers, they are no wiser than if they had stayed at Paris or London."

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(79)

The work of the city in providing accommodations, of the newspapers in cultivating public opinion, of the diplomats in determining the nature and scope of the Congress contributed materially to its success.

78. Le Moniteur Universelle, 26 September.

79. Ibid., 15 October.

CHAPTER III

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CONGRESS

Situated some forty miles west of Cologne, in the present province of Rhenish Prussia, Aix-la-Chapelle, with its natural attractions and rich historical associations, had been recognized even before 1818 (notably in 1668 and 1748) as being a place specially adapted for a diplomatic conference.

For ages a major attraction of the place has been its eight mineral springs,--six of them warm--of which the Kaiserquelle is most famous. The Romans who were
(1)
fond of bathing had been quick to appreciate them, and the legionaries who frequented the spot named it *Acquisgranus* for *Apollo Granus*, their god of hot springs. This
(2)
was corrupted into *Aachen* (and *Aix*) by the Germans who followed, for the Frankish kings visited the springs often, and there Pippin the Short as early as 765 built the palace where Charlemagne probably was born. According to Eginhard, Charlemagne enjoyed the exhalations from
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1. For a discussion of springs see Aix-la-Chapelle as a Health Resort ed. by Drs. Beissel, Brandis, etc. English edition by James Donelau.
 2. For general discussions of the history of Aix-la-Chapelle see The Encyclopedia Americana, The New International Encyclopedia, The Encyclopedia Britannica, Nelson's Perpetual Loose-Leaf Encyclopedia, Brockhaus' Conversations-Lexikon, La Grande Encyclopedie, Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e Siècle, Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada.
 3. Eginhard's Life of Charlemagne, ch. XXII, pl 57.

natural warm springs and so made Aix the capital of his realm.

During the past century of Prussian rule, and coincident rise of modern industry, the city, (with its population of 156,000 in 1925) having far outgrown its old limits, has lost much of its medieval character. Its ramparts have been leveled and turned into promenades, and but two of the old gates--that on the south and that on the northwest--remain.

In 1818 by the vicissitudes of time the flourishing medieval city had been reduced to a town of scarcely 33,000 population within the thick ramparts, with small Roman towers at nearly equal intervals, erected in the 12th century by Frederick Barbarossa. Four gates led into the city: the Marschiertor on the south, the Ponttor on the Northwest, the K lnitor on the northeast and the Adalbertst r on the east. Below the half-decayed ramparts agreeable shrubberies and gardens, chiefly the results of the French occupation period, were favorite promenades for the company of this popular bathing place.

Being pleasantly situated in a fine fertile vale watered by the Wurm and surrounded by bold wooded heights,

4. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, vol. I.

5. For a description of the city in 1818 see National Intelligences, 22 October 1818, vol. XIX, no. 2822.

naturally the Congress setting of 1818 was described as
 (6)
"trés-pittoresque" by Metternich and "sehr lieblich" by
 Gentz. Indeed, must not all of the sovereigns and min-
 isters attending this congress have been similarly moved
 by their first sight of Aix-la-Chapelle, as, approaching
 from the hills that surrounded the city, they viewed from
 afar the "slated roofs and minarets of the Rathaus, and
 the grotesque dome of the cathedral," giving to the old
 imperial city an air of truly imposing dignity.

(7)
 The Gothic Rathaus "with its antique minarets, and
 its roof studded with diminutive windows," still crowns,
 (8)
 with venerable dignity, the central Markt-platz of the
 city. From one end rises the round Granusturm of the 13th
 century, from the other the quadrangular Glockenturm of
 the 14th century. Built on the ruins of Charlemagne's
 palace, the Rathaus contains the famous 'coronation'
 hall, and also an ancient hall beautifully frescoed with
 scenes of the life of Charlemagne, while outside in the
 Marktplatz stands his statue in bronze.

Somewhat to the south of the Rathaus is the old

6. Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III,
 p. 121-125; Gentz: Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. 354

7. Contemporary description in National Intelligencer,
 22 October, 1818, vol. XIX, No. 2822.

8. Ibid.

cathedral--a striking specimen of various styles of ecclesiastical architecture. Its aspect, wrote Victor Hugo in 1838, "....est hybride et discordant...Après quelques instants de contemplation, une majesté singulière se dégage de cet édifice extraordinaire, resté inachevé comme l'oeuvre de Charlemagne lui-même, et composé d'architectures qui parlent tous les styles, comme son empire était composé de nations qui parlaient toutes les langues." The nave of the cathedral was erected by

(9)

Charlemagne as a palace chapel. Almost destroyed by the Norsemen, it was rebuilt on the old model by Otto III in 983. Later, in the 14th century, the Gothic choir was added, and in the 18th century the Hungarian chapel, which contains the sacred relics, shown once in every seven years, was built.

Another public building, which in 1818 attracted many visitors, was the new casino with its concert hall. It was a large elegant building, the ground floor open, with a colonnade in front, appropriated to toy shops, etc. A wide staircase led to the first floor, where one entered a grand saloon--a splendid room, with a carved ceiling, and lined with mirrors.

9. Hugo, V.: Lettres sur le Rhin, letter number 9, p. 85 ff.

10. Contemporary description in National Intelligencer, 22 October 1818, vol. XIX, no. 2822.

Rising abruptly above the ramparts of the city on the northwest, is the Louisberg, a bold sandy hill, commanding a noble prospect of the surrounding country. On it in 1818 stood a tavern which was a delightful place for social gatherings. Close at hand one could look down
(11)
upon the city in its rich valley. At a distance, stretching beyond the neighboring hills and fertile pastures, could be viewed the range of regular mountains bounding the horizon toward Germany.

Into these congenial surroundings came, for a brief period, the crowned heads of Europe, the greatest diplomats, the most influential financiers and journalists, the most brilliant artists of the time. The city of Aix-la-Chapelle was to be a "vast stage, whose rank and number of players was infinite."

(12)

It was the king of Prussia, Frederick William III who first arrived, on Sunday afternoon, 27 September, amid "demonstrations of the most lively joy" by the populace. This melancholy king was to be host to the congress,
(13)
which was held in a city he had received at the Congress

11. Ibid.

12. Contemporary account quoted by Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 463.

13. Le Moniteur Universelle, 6 October, 1818, p. 1181, quoted by Annual Register, 1818, in "Chronicle", p. 133.

of Vienna. In this moment of supreme elation, the bitter memories of that congress, at which Prussian ambitions to obtain all Saxony were thwarted by England and Prussia, must have momentarily vanished.

The reception of Frederick William has been described as cold and almost hostile by Daudet in his "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle", an account based on reports of French spies. The city, it is intimated, preferred the dominance of "la douce France" to that of poor despotic Prussia. However, the coldness of the reception of Frederick William is undoubtedly exaggerated by chauvinistic French accounts.

The king of Prussia was followed the next day by Francis I, emperor of Austria. He was received at a

14. Article in Le Correspondant, 1907. vol. CCXXVIII, p. 33-60. It is interesting to note that the Prussian king forbade any display of affection during his reception. See Le Moniteur Universelle, 3 October, p. 1168.

15. Aix-la-Chapelle had been under French control from 1793-1814.

16. Under Frederick William trade and commerce began to flourish; under him the baths, which had been made state property by Napoleon were returned to the city. Further, the fate of the city would have been far worse, had it remained with France, for it would have been burdened with the army of occupation. See Aix-la-Chapelle as a Health Resort, by Dr. Beissel.

17. Le Moniteur Universelle, 5 and 6 October, p. 1177, 1181.

little village, a league from the city, by Frederick William, who had been informed by "telegraph" of his approach. Accompanied by his sons, August, William, and Charles, and Charles of Mecklenburg, the king of Prussia together with the emperor of Austria entered the city between columns of infantry which lined the road from the Kölner tor, and through crowds of spectators that pressed in upon them.

Metternich had predicted that the journey of his sovereign to Aix-la-Chapelle would have "the character of a triumphal procession." This should strengthen Austrian
(18)
influence in German affairs, and also offset the overpowering influence of Alexander in the councils of Europe. The prestige of the empire of Charlemagne properly should redound to the House of Hapsburg, and to Francis, as himself, but lately Holy Roman Emperor. As Gentz expresses it, in describing the passage through the Rhinelands, "the general enthusiasm is for emperor Francis because one sees in him a representative of the old order." At Cologne,
(19)
where the carriage of Gentz and Metternich was mistaken for that of the emperor, the misdirected ovations made Gentz so giddy with pride that he thought his sovereign

18. Metternich to his wife, October 1, 1818, in Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 123. See also Le Moniteur Universelle, 14 August, p. 969; 25 September, p. 1133.

19. Gentz: Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. ee7.

alone was honored by the people. He wrote, "Alexander makes little impression because one sees in him nothing more than the friend of the king of Prussia, whom no one loves, and of whom no one likes to take notice."

(20)

In the evening, five hours later than the emperor of Austria, Alexander I, Czar of Russia, entered Aix-la-Chapelle. Despite the late hour, a large throng had gathered at the Kölnertor, greeting the Czar by torchlight. He was received by Frederick William and accompanied to his residence. On his way to the Congress city, Alexander had visited the Prussian royal family at Berlin, the Prussian king at Leipzig, and the queen of Wurttemberg at Düsseldorf.

(22)

The congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was an important event in the social life of the royalty of Europe. The German rulers who came to the city during the congress included the prince-royal of Prussia, August, and his brothers William and Charles, the brother-in-law of the Prussian king, Charles of Mecklenburg, the princes Philip

(23)

20. Ibid., vol. I, p. 340.

21. Le Moniteur Universelle, 5 and 6 October, p. 1177, 1181.

22. Mikhailovitch, "Alexander I^{er}", vol. I, p. 198; Le Moniteur Universelle, 17 July, 853; 17 September, p. 1102, 1129.

23. Le Moniteur Universelle, 15, 17, 23, 29 September, p. 1093, 1102, 1125, 1153; 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 27, 28 October, p. 1163, 1168, 1177, 1181, 1198, 1256, 1269; 5, 16 November, p. 1297, 1341.

of Hesse-Homburg, Frederick of Wurttemberg, Frederick and Emil of Hesse-Darmstadt, Thurn-und-Taxis, Salm-Dyck, Rohan, Bentheim-Steinfurt, and the princess of Thurn-und-Taxis. The king and queen of Wurttemberg, and the king of Saxony proposed to go to the city incognito. The grand-duke of Baden also proposed to go, but was prevented by ill-health from so doing.

Russian royalty was represented by the grand-dukes Constantine and Michael, by the empress dowager, by numerous other Russian princes, whose attachés were brilliantly notable.

(24)

Nor did other European royalty neglect the congress. The duke of Kent, brother to the prince-regent of England, and the duchess of Kent--parents of Queen Victoria--made a cursory visit to Aix-la-Chapelle. So also the duke of Angouleme, nephew of the king of France. The king of the Netherlands took up his residence at Brussels while the congress was in session, while the prince of Orange, heir-presumptive to the crown of Netherlands, and the princess of Orange, a sister of the Czar, stayed at Spa.

(27)

24. Ibid., 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 25 October, p. 1215, 1218, 1229, 1233, 1241, 1257; 5, 25 November, p. 1297, 1377.

25. Ibid., 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 19 October, p. 1181, 1189, 1198, 1201, 1210, 1233.

26. Ibid., 14, 16, 19 November, p. 1333, 1341, 1354.

27. Ibid., 11 July, p. 829; 13, 29 September, p. 1086, 1153; 24 October, p. 1250.

The diplomats, upon whom the real work of the congress depended, were already at Aix-la-Chapelle when the three sovereigns made their solemn entry into the city. Prince Hardenberg, the old Prussian chancellor of state, stopped at Aix-la-Chapelle, July 30, to inspect his quarters, since it was obvious that many of the conferences would be held in his mansion. From there he had gone to Spa; (28) from whence he visited Metternich at his famous Rhenish estate Johannisberg. There they discussed the affairs of the Germanic Confederation.

Hardenberg was assisted at the Congress by Count Bernstorff, the newly appointed Prussian minister of foreign affairs. The cabinet ministers Wittgenstein and Altenstein were also present. Wilhelm Humboldt, ambassador at London, arrived later. Other Prussian diplomats were Schoell, the representative at Paris, Hatzfeld, the representative at Vienna, an expert civil servant.

(29)

Prince Metternich, who chiefly was to represent Austria at the congress, was preceded by "le fidele Floret." (30)

28. Ibid., 6, 7, 8, 10 August, p. 939, 942, 945, 953; 6, 13, 18 September, p. 1058, 1086, 1105; 3 October, p. 1167.

29. Ibid., 16, 21 September, p. 1099, 1117; 22 October, 1246; 2, 5 November, p. 1290, 1297.

30. Floret was counsellor at the Austrian court. Exceedingly devoted to Metternich, he accompanied him in all his travels. It was to him that Madame Lievin addressed her letters, to be forwarded to Metternich. See Le Moniteur Universelle, 5 September, p. 1053.

Metternich had been away from Vienna for some time. Besides visiting Baden, and Carlsbad, where he had had a reassuring conversation with Capodistrias, the Russian state secretary, on the approaching Congress, he had spent some time at Frankfort, taking part in the discussions of the Federal Diet on the German military system. From there he had gone to his splendid estate Johannisberg, where he had received many distinguished guests, among whom were emperor Francis and Prince Hardenberg, and by 27 September he was at Aix-la-Chapelle.

(32)

Besides Gentz, who was to be protocolist of the congress, other assisting Austrian diplomats were Vincent from Paris, Zichy from Berlin, Lebzeltern from St. Petersburg, Binder from Ghent, and Buol-Schauenstein, Austrian representative at the Diet of the Germanic confederation.

(33)

Russian diplomats were the most numerous at the Congress. Alexander ordered practically all of his ministers at the various courts of Europe to Aix-la-Chapelle.

(54)

31. Ibid., 16, 17 July, p. 849, 853; 14, 27 August, p. 969, 1019; 6, 19 September, p. 1058, 1110.

32. Napoleon had given this estate to his marshal Kellermann. Upon Napoleon's defeat, Francis gave it to Metternich, in August, 1816.

33. Le Moniteur Universelle, 6, 7, 21, 30 October, p. 1181, 1186, 1241, 1277; 18 November, 1350.

34. Ibid., 3, 21 September, p. 1046, 1117; 6, 15, 17, 19, 27 October, p. 1181, 1218, 1225, 1233, 1256; 2 November, p. 1290.

Capodistrias and Nesselrode, who conjointly shared the direction of the department of foreign affairs, were the official representatives at the congress. Pozzo di Borgo, came thither despite Metternich's intrigues to have the ambassadorial conference at Paris continue its work while the congress was in session. Other Russian diplomats were (35) Golovkin and Stackelberg from Vienna, Lieven and his secretary Poggenphol from London, Anstett, representative at the Diet of the Germanic Confederation, Bethmann and Fabre from Frankfort, Alopeus from Berlin, Nicolai from Copenhagen, besides Poletica, who was on his way to the United States.

Richelieu was the official representative of France at the congress. He was assisted by Rayneval, his secretary general, Mounier, a financial expert, and Bourgeot, a civil servant. Other French diplomats at the Congress were Latour-du-Pin from Brussels, Caraman from Vienna, and Reinhard, representative at the Diet of the Germanic Confederation.

(36)

The English government was officially represented by Castlereagh and Wellington. Assisting Castlereagh were Lord Clanwilliam as personal secretary and Planta as prin-

35. Webster, C. K.: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 127.

36. Ibid., 11 July, p. 829; 17 August, p. 977; 13, 16, 21, 23 September, p. 1087, 1099, 1117, 1127; 3, 29 October, p. 1168, 1273.

cipal assistant. Other English diplomats were Chad from the Hague, Stuart and Gordon from Vienna, Disbrowe from Copenhagen, and Canning.

(37)

Though the allied circular of 25 May to the various courts of Europe definitely discouraged them to send representatives, practically all whose interests would be discussed sent unofficial envoys. The king of the Netherlands sent numerous representatives empowered to adjust the boundary dispute between the Netherlands and Prussia. The king of Prussia sent a son of the Prussian chancellor of state, Hardenberg-Reventlow, to present his grievances against the king of Sweden. Portugal sent Cevallos. The king of Spain first sent Casa-Irujo, a skilled diplomat. Later the minister Bermudès with his secretary Basques also arrived. Even the revolted Latin-American colonies sent a representative, Rivadavia. The mediatized German princes either came in person or sent representatives to win back the states of which they had dispossessed.

(44)

37. Ibid., 17, 21 August, p. 977, 993; 16, 21, 22 September, p. 1097, 1117, 1122; 3 October, p. 1167.

38. Ibid., 21 July, p. 870.

39. Ibid., 11 November, p. 1321.

40. Ibid., 10 September, p. 1073.

41. Ibid., 17 October, p. 1225.

42. Ibid., 8, 19 October, p. 1189, 1233.

43. Ibid., 6 October, p. 1182.

44. Ibid., 2, 10, 19 November, p. 1290, 1317, 1353.

The grand-duke of Baden was represented by Berstett. Several (45) ministers of the Germanic Congederation, which was dissolved during the Congress, came to Aix-la-Chapelle. (46) Private claimants appeared, who wished to be indemnified for losses during the Napoleonic wars. Agents of Napoleon's mother and of the disgraced French diplomat Vitrolles were there. Humanitarians like Robert Owen, (47) Thomas Clarkson, Lewis Way, and Richard Banks appeared. (48) (49)

The chief financial houses of Europe were represented. (50) Baring Brothers and Company of London were represented by Alexander Baring; the firm of Rothschild by Solomon Rothschild from London and Carl Rothschild from Frankfort. The Dutch firm of Hope was also represented by Labouchère from Amsterdam. Parish from Hamburg, Mendelsohn from Berlin, Gontard and Bethmann from Frankfort, Delmare from Berlin, and Mappes from Mainz were other financiers present.

Besides the royalty of Europe, the diplomats, the

45. Ibid., 23 September, p. 1125; 30 October, p.

46. Ibid., 3 September, p. 1046.

47. Daudet: "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle" in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 40.

48. Ibid., p. 43.

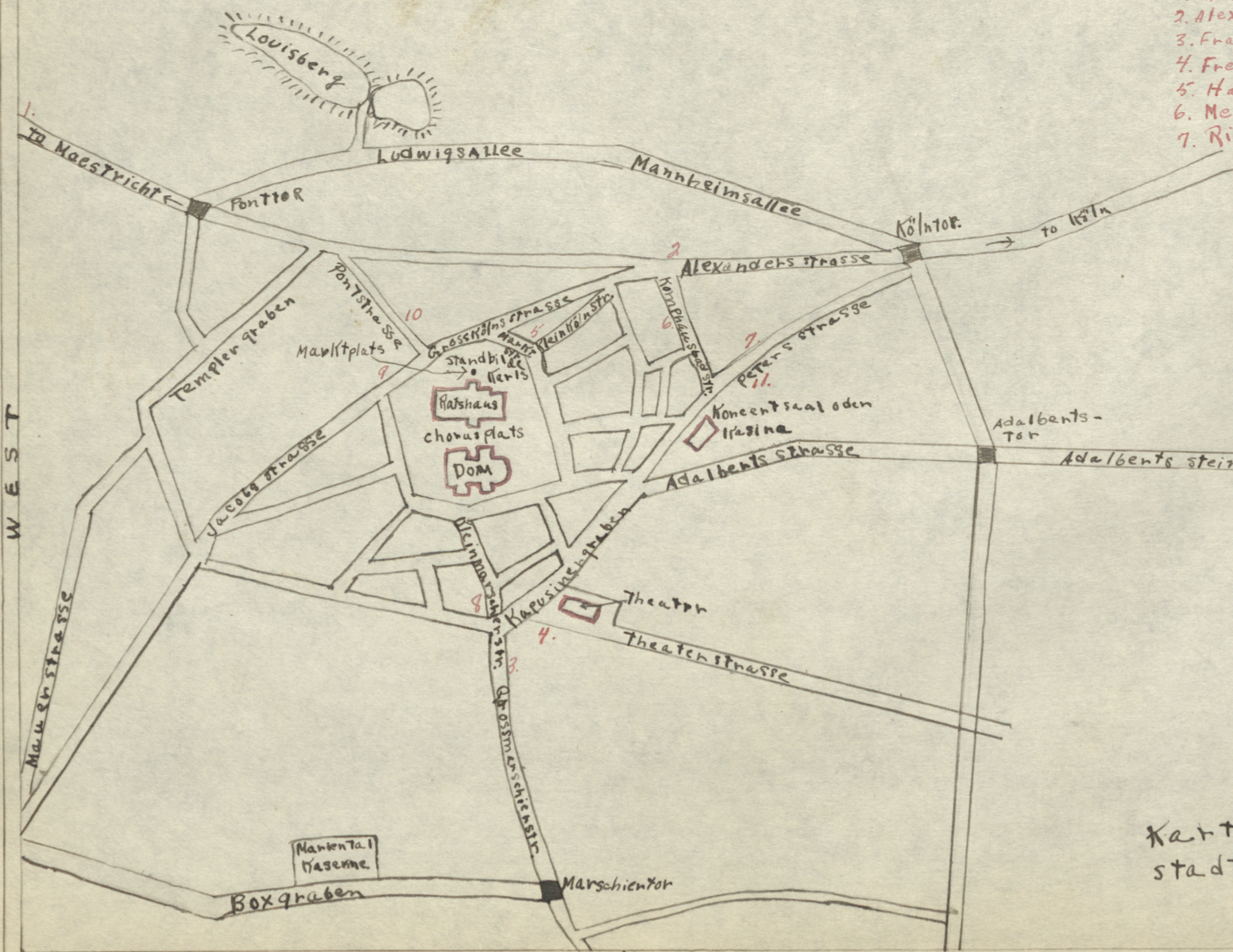
49. Le Moniteur Universelle, 16, 19, 27 October, p. 1221, 1233, 1265; 12 December, 1446; 14 January, 1819, p. 53. Gentleman's Magazine, Oct. 1818, p. 362; January, 1819, p. 70.

50. Le Moniteur Universelle, 23 September, p. 1125; 3, 10, 25 October, p. 1167, 1198, 1257; 18, 21 November, p. 1350, 1363.

N O R T H

1. Alexander I country home.
2. Alexander's home in the city.
3. Francis II.
4. Frederick William III.
5. Hardenberg.
6. Metternich
7. Richelieu
8. Castle neagh
9. Wellington
10. Capodistrias and Nesselwode.
11. Gents.

W E S T



Karte der
Stadt Aachen

financiers, the journalists, the artists, came people of every description. "Crowds swarm the streets and public places, presenting a piquant contrast of all the customs and languages of Europe," reads a contemporary newspaper report. "There is no kind of industry or talent that is
(51)
not represented: comedians and politicians, rope dancers and swindlers, linen-drapers and pick-pockets, journalists and spies, soldiers and peaceful women."

By Tuesday, 29 September, all the sovereigns and diplomats were "well lodged" in the imperial city of Charlemagne. Frederick-William III, the host to the congress,
(52)
had secured one of the most beautiful mansions of the city, surpassing all others in elegance and convenience of arrangement. It was located on the Kapuzinergraben (fossé
(53)
or quai des Capucins; see map].

But a few paces from his place, on the Grossmarschierstrasse (grande rue de Borcette) was the newly-constructed mansion to be occupied by the emperor Francis I of Austria.

(54)

Czar Alexander first rented a place in the country, a

51. Report quoted from a paper of the Rhineland, by Le Moniteur Universelle, 21 October, p. 1241.

52. Metternich to his wife, 1 October, 1813, in Aus Metternich's Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 121.

53. Le Moniteur Universelle, 28 July, p. 897; 3 September, p. 1046.

54. Ibid., 18, 28 July, p. 857, 897; 3 September, p. 1046.

half-league out of the city gate called Ponttor, on the road to Maestricht. This was a beautiful place amid lanes, groves, and gardens interspersed with limpid pools of water. Later he rented another place in the city on Grosskölnstrasse (grande rue de Cologne), for which his landlady had bought special furniture, to be retained in memory of his stay.

(55)

For the next eight weeks the sovereigns were to enjoy the beautiful environs of the congress city, visiting points of historic and scenic interest, making promenades "in habits bourgeois" followed by gaping crowds, attending concerts and reviews, or giving receptions, balls, and dinners.

Wednesday of the first week, Frederick William III with his son Charles, and Francis II visited the old cathedral, seeing in its nave the traditional burying place of Charlemagne, a slab on the floor impressively inscribed Carlo Magno, before which Francis offered a short prayer. Afterward they reverently looked at the famous relics in the Hungarian chapel: robes worn by the Virgin at the nativity, the swaddling clother of the infant Jesus, the scarf Christ wore at the crucifixion, etc. On Friday,

(56)

55. Ibid., 18, 28 July, p. 897; 13, 22 September, p. 1046, 1122.

56. Ibid., 7, 9 October, 1185, 1193. See also Gentz: Briefe an Pilat, vol I, p. 342 for visit to Cathedral.

Frederick William visited the ancient Ratshaus, entering by its spacious hall, with its vaulted roofs and its grotesquely carved and painted walls. He spent much time in the splendid room in which the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748 was concluded, and in which he could see an immense picture of the whole corps diplomatiques of that memorable congress, in full costume at the deliberative table, with separate portraits of the ambassadors and emperors adorning the room. Nor did he fail to note the black daub which the revolutionary French armies had left in place of the fleur de lis, the emblem of the Bourbons, represented on a small shield attached to the costumes of each ambassador.

Saturday morning, Frederick William reviewed the troops of the city before the Kölnertor on the northeast. He and Francis then had breakfast at the country home of Alexander, who had been to Spa, to see his sister, on Wednesday and Thursday. After breakfast, Francis visited the Ratshaus, where he found the grants of privileges to the city since Charlemagne especially interesting.

(58)

On Sunday, 4 October, the first day of the second week, the sovereigns attended high mass in the cathedral.

57. See contemporary description in National Intelligence, 22 October, 1818, vol. XIX, No. 2822.

58. Le Moniteur Universelle, 9 October, p. 1193.

It was the birthday anniversary of emperor Francis of Austria, but rain intercepted all parades and pageants that had been planned. A dinner party in honor of the duke and duchess of Kent, who had arrived the day previous, was arranged by Frederick William.

(59)

(60)

For the evening the city of Aix-la-Chapelle had provided a ball in the newly-decorated casino. This was an event of supreme importance to every burgher. Crowds of spectators lined the dance-floor of the grand saloon, deserting the adjoining rooms. Between them Czar Alexander, king Frederick William, the duke and duchess of Kent, the German princesses and Russian officers, Wellington, Castlereagh and "sa prétentieuse and énorme épouse" danced the polonaise, while the spectators stood agape.

(61)

On Friday, 9 October, the treaty for evacuation of France was drawn up, and the ostensible object of the congress seemed to be accomplished. People began to leave the city. The whole week had been rather uneventful, and the crowds, who were not admitted to the inner circles of society, were beginning to find the congress city a dull place.

(62)

59. Ibid., 8, 10, 11, 15, 16 October, p. 1189, 1198, 1201, 1218, 1221.

60. Ibid., 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 19 October, p. 1181, 1189, 1198, 1201, 1210, 1233.

61. Ibid., 10 October, p. 1198.

62. Ibid., 15 October, p. 1218.

The king of Prussia, who suffered from a slight illness in the beginning of the week, had made excursions by carriage as the week wore on. This taciturn king was seemingly fascinated by childish amusements, and was an inveterate habitué of the theatre, where he could be found almost every evening, always under strict incognito. (63)

The emperor of Austria, too, had made promenades about the city. One day he made an excursion to the Louisberg, from whose vantage point he overlooked the city and the surrounding country, and had visited a cloth-factory on his return. Throughout the congress, this ruler whose sad disposition one ascribed to his grief over the misfortunes of his daughter Marie Louise, could be found on promenades, reserved, often unaccompanied, visiting factories, dye-works, gardens, or going to the grove of Pauline, where seated on a granite pyramid, he would read to himself.

(64)

The czar of Russia was deaf in one ear, so he did not care much for the theatre, and he was too ambitious to be sad, spending most of his time at work. His 'weakness' was women, and the French secret police report his

63. Ibid., 13, 15, 16 October, p. 1210, 1218, 1221.

64. Ibid., 11, 13, 16, 24, 27 October, p. 1201, 1210, 1221, 1250, 1265; also Daudet: "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle", in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 41.

assiduous visits to a tailor's shop, "où est descendue une dame que personne ne connaît."

(65)

On Sunday, 11 October, the host, Frederick William, returned the ball which the city had given a week before. It was also the birthday anniversary of Alexander, for which many festivities had been prepared.

This week was to be filled with concerts and dinner-parties. Sunday a concert was given in honor of the princess Thurn-und-Taxis; Tuesday a party "fort brilliant" at Keutchenberg provided by Alopeus, the Russian ambassador to Berlin; Thursday a dinner party at Wellington's place, with a concert by M. Lafont and Madame Calalani, whose ears Alexander filled with things "les plus flatteuses"; Friday a visit of the prince and princess of Orange to Alexander's country home, and a concert by the prodigy Hatzfeld; Saturday a concert by Fabry-Garat.

Sunday, 18 October, the beginning of the fourth week, was the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. Though some doubt existed as to the propriety of celebrating a military

(67)

65. Daudet: Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle, in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 42. See also Le Moniteur Universelle, 15, 17 October, p. 1218, 1225.

66. Le Moniteur Universelle, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25 October, p. 1210, 1221, 1225, 1229, 1233, 1241, 1246, 1250, 1257.

67. For an account of the celebration of the Leipzig anniversary see Daudet: "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle", in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 56. See also Gentz: Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. 35; Yonge: Life of Liverpool, vol. II, p. 348.

victory in the midst of a peace congress, such scruples were soon set aside. The day began with a church thanksgiving and a parade. Early in the morning the troops within the city marched out through the Adalbertstor on the east, and took position on the plains just outside the ramparts. At nine o'clock the three sovereigns appeared. The troops formed en carre, and a Prussian officer read a discourse in German, recalling the events of the battle. After reviewing the troops, the three sovereigns clasped each others hands and swore eternal fidelity to each other. At noon the king of Prussia, as host, had provided an immense military dinner in the Rathaus. Among those present were the sovereigns, the princess of Orange, and the princess of Thurn-und-Taxis. None of the diplomats appeared as Hardenberg had provided a dinner for them. The Prussian officers, not satisfied with the review in the morning and the dinner at noon, celebrated the anniversary with a banquet in the tavern atop Mount Louisberg.

The French took no part in these festivities. The (68) personnel of Richelieu spent the day in the country, while Richelieu visited the old monastery of Combels-Munster, two leagues from the city. He wrote Louis XVIII that the celebration of the Leipzig anniversary "only

68. Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 18 October in Cisternes:
Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 90.

served to perpetuate hatred and maintain irritation in the public mind."

The next day, Wellington proposed to erect a commemorative monument at the place where the sovereigns, in recalling the victory at Leipzig, had taken an oath to maintain their alliance, but Alexander, considering such a monument too bellicose, opposed its erection. He said: "On n'a élevé que trop de monuments à la guerre, il serait temps d'en élever à la paix."

Mme. Catalani gave her first public concert Monday evening. She had postponed it from Sunday, on learning (70) that the allied victory was to be celebrated, out of regard for her French husband, M. de Valabrègue, who so bravely played the role of "le mari de l'étoile" that he ordinarily called him self M. Catalani, né Valabrègue. Her first public concert, which was given in the large hall of the casino, was an outstanding success. Her last number was sung in honor of the host of the congress, Frederick William. It was the familiar "God Save the King", but she used the name Frederick instead of George in singing it. Over six hundred people attended the concert, among whom were the three sovereigns, Metternich, Hardenberg, Castlereagh, and Richelieu. She was showered with honors and gifts. Alopeus, the Russian ambassador

70. Ibid., vol. CCXXVIII, p. 48. See Le Moniteur Universelle, 25, 27 October, p. 1257, 1265.

to Berlin, escorted her to the stage. Alexander gave her a ceinture ornamented with diamonds, whose worth was estimated at 10,000 francs, Francis and Frederick William each gave her 100 ducats, and Wellington a 1000 francs. The entrance receipts alone amounted to almost 10,000 francs.

During this week the convention of 9 October, providing for the evacuation of France, was being ratified. Alexander and Frederick William wished to profit by the delay which the exchange of ratifications would involve by visiting Louis XVIII and reviewing the army of occupation before it left French soil. Richelieu had long convinced Alexander of the salutary effects of such a visit, urging that it would reconcile the French people to the king's government and would mitigate to some extent the bitterness of allied dominance during the previous three years. Accordingly Alexander, accompanied by the grand-
(71)
dukes Constantine and Michael, and Frederick William, accompanied by prince Charles of Mecklenberg, and prince Charles of Prussia left Aix-la-Chapelle on Tuesday, 20 October. The king of Prussia was also accompanied by Alexander Humboldt, the renowned scientist, who had just received a very generous stipend from the king to carry on his researches in India and the Indian archipelago.

71. See Cisternes: Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 86 ff.

He was a brother to Wilhelm Humboldt, then a Prussian ambassador to London.

Kaiser Francis, who remained at Aix-la-Chapelle, spent the rest of the week rambling about the city, while the ministers continued their conferences.

Wednesday, Metternich gave a dinner to which he invited all the German princes, who had come to Aix-la-Chapelle in the belief that the German affairs were about to be discussed. Thursday, Nesselrode gave a dinner, at which began the liaison between Metternich and Madame Lieven, wife of the Russian ambassador to London. Metternich exchanged remembrances with her about Napoleon, who "served them as intermediary."

(72)

Sunday, 25 October, the beginning of the fifth week, which was the day Alexander and Frederick William arrived at Sedan to review the allied troops, a group of diplomats made an excursion to Spa. Among them were Prince Metternich and Madame Lieven. The former wrote his wife a few days later that "the trip from here to Spa is charming; nothing is as beautiful as the country of Limbourg with its prairies and its innumerable dwelling places." He naturally did not inform her that he had asked Madame Lieven to change carriages in order to be close to her,

(73)

72. See Hanoteau: Lettres du Prince de Metternich à la Comtesse de Lieven.

73. Aus Metternich's Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 129.

and that together they had dined at the inn Henry Chapelle.

Monday, 26 October, Catalani gave her second public concert at the casino. The French violinist Lafont accompanied her. The sovereigns, of course, were not present, but Bernstorff was there, and Richelieu arrived late, from a dinner which he had given to the diplomats. (74)

The rest of the week was uneventful socially at Aix-la-Chapelle. Meantime on Wednesday, October 28, Alexander and Frederick William with their entourages arrived at Paris. They were received in the family circle of Louis XVIII, dining pompously at the Tuileries. After dinner Alexander had a confidential conversation with Louis XVIII. He was overflowing with benevolence towards France and her government, especially towards the Richelieu ministry, in which he expressed complete confidence; but he did not hide his apprehensions about the recent elections, nor did he fail to notice the absence of the duke of Orleans from the dinner-table. The visit was very tactful, so^{it} did offset the bitterness which the battle of Leipzig had aroused. It made Louis XVIII feel that he had a share in maintaining European solidarity. Alexander left the same evening for Aix-la-Chapelle.

Frederick William, however, remained in Paris for

74. Le Moniteur Universelle, 2 November, p. 1290.

75. See Cisternes: Le Duc de Richelieu; also, Leon de Crousaz-Cretet: Duc de Richelieu en Russie et en France.

some time, visiting many places of amusement. Soon after arriving, a comic actor had so struck his risibilities (76) that the profound sadness in which he had languished for years was broken. Again and again therefore he saw this buffoon.

Back at Aix-la-Chapelle, no festivities were provided for Sunday, November 1, the beginning of the sixth week, since the host, the king of Prussia, was still amusing himself at Paris. Alexander visited the duke of Wellington, in the morning, interrupting his breakfast, to express his gratification at the discipline of the army of occupation and to nominate him field-marshal of the Russian army. Great activity reigned in the diplomatic circles, which the papers attributed to the return of Alexander. Noon of the next day, the empress dowager of Russia, widow of Paul I, arrived at Alexander's country home, where she was received by Alexander and the grand-duke Michael. Later the emperor of Austria, the prince-royal of Prussia, and his brother William, the princess Thurn-und-Taxis, Wellington and Alopeus arrived for a banquet in her honor. Alexander and the grand-duke

76. See Vaulabelle: Histoire des deux Restaurations, vol. IV, p. 494 note; also, Le Moniteur Universelle, 2 November, p. 129.

77. Le Moniteur Universelle, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14 November, p. 1305, 1313, 1317, 1321, 1333.

Michael afterward accompanied their mother as far as Maestricht, returning the next day.

(78)

Tuesday, M. Meer, official musical composer for the king of the Netherlands, gave a concert at which Fabry-Garat assisted. A lyric scene composed by Meer for the occasion of the reunion of the sovereigns was particularly applauded. On Sunday, 8 November, the beginning (79) of the seventh week, the king of Prussia, who had returned from Paris on Friday, attended a military service in the Lutheran church of the city, accompanied by the prince-royal of Prussia and his brother William. The king also invited all the officers and officials of the city to a dinner.

(80)

On Monday the duke of Angouleme, nephew of the French king, returned officially the visit the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had made to the French court. He dined with the king of Prussia, who had invited (81) the other sovereigns. At an evening reception he again met the sovereigns, the Prussian princes, and the ministers. He then visited Alexander, accompanied by Richelieu, and left the same evening.

78. Ibid., 9, 10 November, p. 1313, 1317.

79. Ibid., 10 November, p. 1317.

80. Ibid., 15 November, p. 1337.

81. Ibid., 14, 16, 19 November, p. 1333, 1341, 1354.

The mediatized princes were in turn very liberal with evening parties, in a desperate attempt to win back their estates, which were now being discussed in the conferences. For Monday the prince of Salm-Dyck had provided a dance which most of the ministers attended, while for Tuesday the princess of Thurn-und-Taxis had provided a sumptuous feast to which all the monarchs were invited. (82)

Thursday, Madame Catalani gave a concert whose proceeds were to go to the poor. Friday, Madame Lafont had a soireé musicale.

(83)

Sunday, 15 November, the beginning of the last week, Alexander had provided a farewell dinner of a "magnificence extraordinaire" to honor Francis, who was leaving Tuesday. In the evening the city offered a farewell celebration to the congress, again held in the casino, where the sovereigns appeared in "habit bourgeois", and participated in the dances. This was the last important social event of the congress. (84)

Though conferences continued until the next Sunday, everyone was ready to leave. Roads leading from the city were covered with strangers. During the week the king of Prussia left for Berlin. The Czar,

82. Ibid., 22, 30 October, p. 1246, 1277; 2, 9 November, p. 1291, 1313.

83. Ibid., 19 November, p. 1353.

84. Ibid., 19, 21, 22, 23, 24 November, p. 1353, 1361, 1365, 1369, 1374.

who spent that week in Brussels visiting his sister, the princess of Orange, left Aix-la-Chapelle on Monday, 23 November.

(85)

While gala festivities beguiled the time of the sovereigns, the diplomats were quietly doing the actual work of the congress. Though they took part in diplomatic dinners and concerts, they spent most of their time in conference, meeting alternately at the mansions of Hardenberg and Metternich.

Hardenberg, the Prussian chancellor of state, as mentioned already, had rented a mansion on Neumarkt (Marche-neuf; see map). It was one of the most beautiful of the city and contained a superb collection of paintings by the most celebrated artists of the Belgian, German, French, and Italian schools.

(86)

Metternich, too, had leased a fine mansion on Komphausbadstrasse, one of the most fashionable streets, on which some of the famous mineral baths were located.

(87)

At these two mansions the diplomats met forty-seven

85. Mikhailowitch: L'Empereur Alexander I^{er}, vol. I, p. 202.

86. Ibid., 3 September, 1046.

87. Ibid., 20 July, 865.

times in eight weeks for conferences. After the first
 (88)
 week Metternich wrote that matters were progressing
 "à merveille." After five conferences the second week
 (89)
 Planta, Castlereagh's principal assistant, wrote that
 (90)
 "even the suites of the sovereigns seem much bored with
 the place. Nothing, therefore, but real business will
 detain them." After six conferences during the third
 week Metternich wrote his wife: "Our business is pro-
 gressing rapidly. As for pleasures, they do not exist."
 (91)
 At the end of the next week, he wrote to her: "Our life
 always goes on in the same way: we have conferences, we
 promenade, we dine." During the first weeks of the con-
 (92)
 gress, the diplomats met twice a week in the drawing-
 rooms of Lady Castlereagh, where in an adjoining room

88. F. de Martens in Recueil des Traités et conventions
 conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères,
 vol. VII, p. 292, states that forty-seven conferences
 were held. This agrees with an enumeration based
 on the Tagebucher of Gentz.

89. Metternich to his wife, 5 October, Aus Metternich's
 Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 124.

90. Jos Planta to Bathurst, 8 October, in Hist. MSS. Comm.
 Papers of Earl Bathurst, p. 456.

91. Metternich to his wife, 18 October, Aus Metternich's
 Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 126.

92. Metternich to his wife, 3 November, (Aus Metternich's
 Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 127.

they would indulge in political conversations. Metternich, however, found the place pervaded by an "inconceivable atmosphère d'ennui", and consequently sought refuge in a game of whist at his own mansion.

On Tuesday of the seventh week, the diplomats, after a conference, went to the studio of Sir Thomas Lawrence, who had been commissioned by the prince-regent of England to paint the portraits of all the sovereigns and diplomats of the congress. A special house with a large studio had constructed for him in England, which was to be set up in the gardens surrounding Castlereagh's place on Kleinmarschierstrasse, but when it arrived too late, he set up a studio in the Ratshaus. At the Ratshaus could be seen the portraits of the diplomatic corps of the congress of 1748. At the mansion of Hardenberg could be seen the superb collection of paintings of various schools, owned by an art dealer Bettendorff, from whom Hardenberg had

93. See Le Moniteur Universelle, 17 October, p. 1225; Metternich to his wife, 5 October, in Aus Metternich's Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 124; Gentz to Pilat, vol. I, p. 348; Gentz to Adam Muller, 15 December, in Brüfwechsel zwischen Gentz und Muller, p. 265.

94. See Metternich to his wife, 3 November in Aus Metternich's Nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 127. Le Moniteur Universelle, 16 November, p. 1341; Gentleman's Magazine, December 1818, p. 625; Stewart to Liverpool, 19 October, in Yonge's Life of Liverpool, vol. II, p. 346; and Hanoteau: Lettres du Prince de Metternich à la Comtesse de Lieven, note on p. 9. The Lawrence portraits are now in the Waterloo gallery at Windsor.

rented the place. The artistic appreciation of the diplomats was thus developed. In fact, Wellington purchased a masterpiece of Rubens for \$20,000, and Kaiser Francis likewise purchased paintings to the value of \$20,000.

During these eight weeks of conference the diplomats had touched on questions of every conceivable character. There were general questions like anti-slave and piracy measures, the definition of the European concert, the relation of France to the allied powers, the mediation between Spain and Portugal, and between Spain and her revolted colonies. There were legal questions like the question of salute at sea, the use of unrecognized flags by the pirates on the coasts of South America, the objection to the transit of the Bavarian contingent of the army of occupation, the criminal intrigues in the Low Countries, the creation of a new rank of diplomats. There were political questions like the recognition of the Hochberg line in Baden, the misgovernment of Monaco by its prince, the denial of the royal title to the elector of Hesse. There were economic questions such as financial arrangements for the payment of French debts, arrangement for the settlement of claims of French subjects against foreign governments, insistence upon payment of financial obligations by the king of Sweden to Denmark, and regulation of the withdrawal of the army of occupation. There were territorial questions like the

dispute between Bavaria and Baden, adjustments of territorial claims of minor German potentates. There were such social questions as Owen's appeal in behalf of the working classes, Way's appeal in behalf of the Jews, Clarkson's address for a perpetual congress and his memorial on the slave trade, Bank's memorial on the Barbary pirates, and on the means of civilizing the northern coast of Africa. There was Napoleon's mother's appeal for permission to visit her son at St. Helena.

With such varied and multitudinous questions before it, the "great machine of European peace" had to run smoothly. It was the social life of the congress that was the lubrication for this machine.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONCERT OF POWERS DEFINED

Scarcely could an international congress have met more auspiciously than that of the Aix-la-Chapelle, 30 September to 22 November 1818. The opening day found the statesman and attending sovereigns all in good spirit. Frederick William III was elated because he was host to the Congress. Francis I had had a "triumphal procession" "through the Rhinelands, and Alexander I was characterized by "an habitual exaltation of mind". Alexander could thus write, after three days in the Congress city, that "..... les dispositions des Cabinets alliés sont très bonnes, et il règne la plus grande harmonie ainsi qu'une conformité complète dans la manière de juger les questions qui doivent nous occuper". The actual proceedings of the Congress were carried on by veterans of the Congresses. (1) since 1813 at Paris, London, and Vienna. Hardenberg and Bernstorff acted for Prussia, Metternich for Austria, Castlereagh and Wellington for England, Capodistrias and Nesselrode, supervised by Alexander, for Russia, and Richelieu for France. Gentz, who three years before had served as protocolist of the Vienna Congress, was secretary. (2)

Overwhelmed with praise and work, Gentz wrote that he was the "...., bond that united the five powers." Daily (3)

(1) Alexander to Kocheleff, 2 October in Mikhailowitch, Alexander Ier, vol. II, p. 10.

(2) Gentz: Briefe an Pölat, vol. I, p. 348

(3) Ibid., vol. I, p. 355 ff.

he heard assurances that "... without him no Congress could be held". In fact the ministers resolved that
(4)
he should marry, so that he might propagate his kind, and well he might have done so, had he taken his dalliance with Fanny Essler in earnest.

Two or three streets of the city formed "le terrain du congrès". Meeting alternately at mansions of Hardenberg and Metternich, the diplomats carried on their conferences more as private individuals than public officials, banishing all the usual diplomatic formalities and ceremonies.
(5)

The conferences were very secret, so that L'Oracle of Aix-la-Chapelle wrote that "... one knows nothing, and when the results of the negotiations will be published, one will know nothing" of the actual deliberations of the diplomats.
(6)

(7)
Within these secret meetings the questions before the Congress were discussed; the decisions reached were embodied in protocols, which were signed and approved at general

(4) Briefwechsel zwischen Gentz und Müller, p. 265 ff

(5) Daudet, "Autour du Congrès d' Aix-la-Chapelle", in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 59.

(6) Gentz, Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. 340; see also, Vaulabelle, Histoire des deux Restaurations, vol. IV, p. 491.

(7) L'Oracle, quoted by Le Moniteur Universel, 15 October, p. 1218.

meetings attended by all the sovereigns. Negotiations
 (8)
 were also carried on in private conferences, in which,
 writes Gentz "... im Grunde die Hauptsachen zu Stande
 kamen." Gentz drew up the protocols, some sixty in
 (9)
 number, which were then dictated by Wacken, head of the
 chancery, to the Russian secretary Worontzoff, to the
 English secretary Disbrow, to the Prussian secretary
 Götze, and , in case Richelieu had a share in the deliberations,
 to the French civil servants.

(10)

Even more important, however, for smooth working of
 the Congress had been the preparatory work detailed above
 in Chapter II. Thereby the statesmen had eliminated from
 the councils of Europe practically all occasion for dis-
 trust and dissension. Similarly the press discussion had
 helped to clarify popular expectations from the congress and
 to present it favorably to an interested world.

Regarding the move for a Congress of the great powers
 at first with apprehension, the smaller powers of Europe,
 though excluded from all share in its deliberations, sanct-
 tioned the Congress when assured by the allied circular of

(8) Martens, Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus
 par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères. vol. VII, p. 294.

(9) Briefwechsel zwischen Gentz und Müller, p. 265 ff.

(10) Bentz, Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. 354.

25 May that only the allied relations to France would be considered, and they actually looked forward to it as a ray of hope upon a troubled political horizon.

Among the greater powers also initial mistrust had been largely overcome by diplomatic exchanges regarding the sanction, bases and scope of the Congress. Thus, the Austrian court especially had been apprehensive that Czar Alexander might wish to extend the purview of the Congress so as to include all diplomatic questions of the time, and it feared that a close rapprochement of France and Russia was imminent. But these fears and suspicions were dispelled first by a reassuring interview of Metternich with Capodistrias at Carlsbad in August, then by interviews of Czar Alexander with Francis II, Metternich, Wellington, Castlereagh and Richelieu immediately upon arriving at the Congress city. Gentz wrote, :

(11)

"Toutes les inquietudes disparurent, tous les voiles tomberent en moins de deux jours." Gentz, moreover, frankly admits that the suspicions of the designs of Alexander were without foundation.

(12)

(13)

So urgent was the need of evacuation of France by the army of occupation that, as has already been stressed, in the present study (Chapter I), the question was one of irritation to the French government. It has also been shown that an attitude, recognizing evacuation as necessary.—

(11) Brokesch-Osten: Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 403 ff.

(12) Ibid., vol. I, p. 400 ff.

(13) Ibid.

and expedient, had been carefully fostered by Richelieu, and that when the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle opened, he was fully assured of the support of Pozzo di Borgo. However, since the allied cabinets looked upon Pozzo di Borgo as "le plus redoutable patron de la France", and since Czar Alexander was intent above all else on working in concert with his allies, the influence of Pozzo upon Alexander was diminished. As Gentz wrote, with some (14) exaggeration, "the coat tail of Capodistrias has more influence than he". Accordingly, Richelieu did every- (15) thing possible to retain the support of Alexander, of whose benevolent intentions toward France he was convinced. He visited his sister Anne, ^{the} (16) ~~An~~ princess of Orange, at Spa on his way to the Congress city. Immediately, on his (17) arrival, he visited Alexander, reassuring him as to the internal conditions of France and as to the stability of her government. Likewise support of the English cabinet for evacuation must be made doubly sure. The French (18) ambassador at London, Marquis d'Osmond, provided a sumptuous

(14) Martens: Recueil des Traites et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances Etrangères, vol. XIV, p. 403; see also Prokesch-Osten, Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 403 ff.

(15) Gentz: Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. 353.

(16) Quotation by Cresson: Holy Alliance, p. 70 shows Alexander's attitude.

(17) Daudet: Autour du Congrès d' Aix-la-Chapelle, in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 39.

(18) Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 30 September in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 43, see also Bänder: Metternich, p. 165.

farewell dinner to Castlereagh before he left for the Congress. At Spa on their way to Aix-la-Chapelle, Castlereagh and Wellington were interviewed by Richelieu, who urged on them afresh French viewpoints as to the evacuation questions. Le Moniteur Universelle could thus report (19) on 6 October that "the dispositions of the sovereigns towards France augur well for the accomplishment of all that France desires."

(20)
(21)
However, though the official attitude of the four great powers was seemingly harmonious on the basic question of evacuation of France, it varied considerably as regards corollary issues, as will be seen from the comprehensive instructions for the delegations of the several major powers. The English official program is found in two memoranda prepared by Castlereagh for the British Cabinet. (22)
The French objectives are found in the instruction of Louis XVIII to Richelieu. The Austrian attitude is found in (23)

(19) Le Moniteur Universelle, 17 August, p. 977.

(20) Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 142.

(21) Le Moniteur Universelle, 6 October, p. 1182.

(22) These memoranda not available in print, are discussed at length in Webster's The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 134 ff.

(23) Richelieu's instructions, dated 16 September are found in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 17 ff, and Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 844 ff.

"le budget autrichien des affaires d'Aix-la-Chapelle", submitted by Metternich in the opening conference. Russian projects are more difficult to determine. (24) Ozar Alexander "reserved to himself in a peculiar manner the superintendence of the department of foreign affairs". He personally directed his ministers, and hence did not give them instructions. (25) However, sometime in April 1818 he had ordered Pozzo di Borgo at Paris to prepare a report on certain questions, which he thought would be considered at the Congress. The resulting reply was approved by him, and a sketch of it entitled "Canevas d'un memoire à etre presente à la conference d' Aix-la- Chapelle", contains the official attitude of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. The official attitude of the Prussian government was not definitely expressed, (26) either by the king or by Hardenberg and Bernstorff. William von Humboldt coming to Aix-la-Chapelle from London told the latter, not without truth, that "... vous ne comptez pas cette fois ici." Regarding the major issue of the Congress, per se, the initial objectives of the powers (27)

(24) Martens, Récueil des Traites et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères, vol. VII, p. 295.

(25) Cathcart to Castlereagh, 12 July, 1816, in.

(26) Polowstov in a note in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 832 states that this "canevas d'un memoire" was approved before 24 July; that circumstances then did not permit presenting it, so it was modified and presented 8 October as a "memoire confidential du Cabinet de Russie", that the difference between the "Canevas d'un memoire" and the "Memoire confidential" is that the former proposes a general alliance in which all states of Europe, including France, had a part, while the latter only proposes a declaration announcing the results of the Congress.

(27) Wilhelm und Caroline von Humboldt in ihren Briefen, vol. VI, p. 280.

may be recapitulated as follows. The instructions Richelieu had Louis XVIII give to him stated ".... make every sacrifice to obtain the evacuation of the territory. It is the first condition of our independence ..., obtain the best conditions possible, but at any sacrifice get quit of the stranger." The Duke of Wellington's opinion (28) that further occupation of France was inimical to the best interests of the French government was to guide English policy. The opinion of Pozzo di Borgo that "the foreign (29) troops must evacuate France; prolonging their sojourn would add nothing to the establishment of order in this country," was to determine Russian policy. The Austrian court also (30) recognized the necessity of withdrawing the allied armies from France.

(31)

Having conceded evacuation in advance the powers turned to corollary questions incidental thereto. Since England and France were mainly concerned with the financial settlements, because England was the prime creditor, and France the debtor nation their attitude upon this matter a

(28) Louis XVIII to Richelieu 20 September, quoted by Alison's in Lives of Castlereagh and Stewart. p. 61

(29) Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 134.

(30) Pozzo di Borgo, Correspondance Diplomatique, vol. II, p. 472.

(31) Martens, Recueil des Traites et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères, vol. VII p. 295.

alone upon this matter was defined in advance instructions.
 Richelieu was to

Obtain, if not a reduction of the total sum, at least a discount according as payments were made. Castlereagh (32) went on the assumption France could pay the whole sum by means of contracts with various financial houses, the arrangement resting on the joint credit of the French government and the contractors.

(33)

The need for various precautions against France after evacuation of the army/ was also foreseen. Castlereagh's instructions suggested several plans, but thought the army of the Germanic Confederation provided the best security. An army of observation in the Netherlands financed by the Allies, and separate treaties to protect the frontier of the Netherlands he considered objectionable. Metternich, (34) like Castlereagh believed the army of the Germanic Confederation to be the requisite security against France. Alexander suggested either a union among the powers or a military concert in a case of necessity. But this brought out the great divergence which existed in the councils of the several powers as regards to their future relation to France.

Richelieu came prepared to break down the alliance based on the treaty of Chaumont of 1814 or to convert the Quadruple alliance of Nov. 1815 into a Quintuple alliance.

(35)

(32) Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 20.

(33) Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 135.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 21 ff.

Rather than agree to any arrangement eventually directed against France, he should prefer complete isolation. In fact, he should refuse to treat on any other question before evacuation of France and the disruption of the Quadruple Alliance were accomplished.

In defining the allied relations to France Castlereagh analyzed the four-power treaty of Alliance of 20 November, 1815, avowing that the Quadruple Alliance must be maintained, but that France should be invited to take part in the discussions of the present Congress under article 6 of that treaty. Metternich held the same view, declaring that (36) the Quadruple Alliance, (which he insisted was based on the treaty of Chaumont) be maintained.

Pozzo di Borgo, who originally drew up the "Canevas d'un memoire", declared that a future alliance based on the treaty of Chaumont was "absurd, dangerous, and inapplicable to the present circumstances, " for the smaller powers, suspicious that the four great powers were aiming at universal domination, would form a coalition against them, thus dividing Europe into two hostile camps. To obviate this danger the "Canevas d'un memoire" contemplated a Grand Alliance of all the states of Europe, including France. (37)

(36) Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 136 ff.

(37) Pozzo di Borgo, Correspondance Diplomatique, vol. II, p. see also, Sbornik, vol. CXIX, note on p. 832.

Such were the auspices and such the programs influencing the formal opening of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle Wednesday morning, 30 September. The scene was the mansion of Hardenberg, the Prussian chancellor, on Neumarkstrasse. It was Metternich, however, who made the opening speech. (38)

"Voulons-nous faire du nouveau à Aix-la-Chapelle", he asked, "ou crayons nous ce qu'il y a de mieux à faire c'est de conserver intact ce qui a été fait?" He was in favor of the latter policy as a guide for the Congress. Metternich then proposed that the allied troops be withdrawn from France and that Richelieu be invited to take part in the conferences. These propositions were unanimously adopted in the evening conference, after Richelieu, who was present, had been questioned on the internal conditions of France and on the stability of her government, and after Wellington, whose written opinion was officially requested, had agreed that evacuation might take place without danger to France and to the peace of Europe. But on the initiative of the Russian representative, it was decided that the decision of the powers to withdraw the troops be withheld from Paris until all matters concerning evacuation were regulated. (39)

(40)

(41)

(42)

(38) Cisternis, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 49. Compare with Binder, Metternich, p. 165.

(39) Martens, Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, vol. VII, p. 292.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Ibid. vol. VII, 292; see also Cisternes: Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 49; Brialmont and Gleig, Wellington, vol. XII, p. 66.

(42) Martens, Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, vol. VII, p. 295. See (42*) on next page.

The main precedent question to evacuation was the financial arrangement, which, on the motion of Castlereagh, was undertaken in the next conference. Up to date the French government had punctually paid the installments on its indemnity of 700,000,000 francs. These amounted to 368,000,000 francs, leaving a balance of 332,000,000 francs. With a payment of 265,000,000 francs Richelieu now offered to liquidate the balance of the indemnity. The discussions of these figures, Richelieu reported home, were conducted "in the manner of the children of Israel". However, Richelieu's proposition was accepted. 100,000,000 francs were to be paid in eighteen monthly installments in the form of French rentes, which were to be inscribed in the Great Book of the Public Debt of France, and to bear interest from 22 September, 1818. With a stringency in the French money market, which rapidly affected other places like Amsterdam and London, this pecuniary arrangement was changed, so that the payment of rentes which was to have been made in eighteen instalments now came in twenty-seven

(42*) Richelieu, however, immediately sent the confidential declaration containing the decision for evacuation to King Louis XVIII. Richelieu, October, in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 51

(43) Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 53.

(44) Mowat: History of European Diplomacy, 1815-1914, p. 29

(45) Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 5 October, Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 59.

instalments. Objecting to the stipulation which made the
(46)

French government the sole security, the Earl of Harrowby

wrote th^t it might consider " a punctual discharge of

engagements as the only real dishonor". The balance of

(47)

165,000,000 francs was to be paid in nine monthly instalments

from 6 January to 6 September 1819, guaranteed by the

financial houses Baring and Co., and Hope and Co., The

Prussian government desiring more guarantees than the

other powers would be paid in cash by Baring and Co., The

Allied Army of Occupation was to^{be} withdrawn from France

by 30 November, the French Government continuing to provide

for the pay, equipment, and clothing of the troops to that

date. These decisions were embodied in the Convention signed

9 October. "The conclusion of the convention," reports Le

(48)

Moniteur Universelle, of October, "set the whole world

in movement, and especially the bankers. The routes are

covered with courriers to all countries." During November

(49)

the Duke of Wellington gradually withdrew his troops, and

(46) See protocols of 11 and 19 November, found in D'Angeberg's Le Congrès de Vienne, vol. II, p. 1752, 1763; in Martens: Nouveau Recueil, 3rd series, vol. IV, p. 562; in DeClerq's Recueil, vol. III, p. 172, 183; in British and Foreign State Papers, vol. VI, p. 12, 86.

(47) Harrowby to Bathurst, 26 December, 1818, in Historical M. M. S. Comm., Papers on Earl Bathurst, p. 466.

(48) Convention of 9 Oct. found in Hertlet, Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. I, p. 557; D'Angeberg, Le Congrès de Vienne, vol II, p. 1744; Martens, Nouveau Recueil, series II, vol. II, p. 549; Martens, Recueil, vol. VII, p. 302. DEClérq, Recueil vol. III, p. 164; British and Foreign State Papers, vol. VI, p. 6; Annual Register, 1819, p. 125; Hansard Parliamentary vol. XXXIX, p. 168, etc.

(49) Le Moniteur Universelle, 16 October, 1818, p. 1221.

on 30 November he relinquished the fortresses to the Duc d'Angouleme, nephew of King Louis XVIII. The ostensible purpose of Congress seemed to be accomplished.

However, it was with the conclusion of the convention of 9 October, that "the discussions of the great political questions" really began, according to Gentz. (50) Already on 3 October Castlereagh had submitted the first British cabinet memorandum of 4 September, -- which defined the future position of France in the European state system -- to ^{the} representatives of Austria, Prussia and Russia. The memorandum insisted that the maintenance of the Quadruple Alliance was essential to the peace of Europe, that France could not be admitted to "a league avowedly pointed" at her, but that she might be admitted to the discussions of the Congress, not on the basis of treaty of Chaumont, but on that of article 6 of the four-power treaty of alliance of 20 November. (51) Metternich accepted this proposal in toto, and Hardenberg and Bernstorff were not averse to it. However, Capodistrias (52) and Messelrode did not commit themselves without first consulting Czar Alexander. (53)

(54) Five days later, 8 October, there was submitted (to the conference) a "Memoire Confidentiel du Cabinet de Russie" which declared that the political system of Europe

(50) Gentz to Pilat, in Briefe and Pilat, vol. I, p 349.

(51) Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 143.

(52) Ibid., p. 136

(53) Ibid, p. 144; also Phillips, The Confederation of Europe,

(54) Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 144.

--"L'oeuvre de la Providence", -- was a general association of the powers, having for its foundation the treaties of Vienna and Paris. Its moral support consisted of the Quadruple Alliance and the Holy Alliance; its material support in the army of occupation. With the evacuation of France, the material support must be sought in the elements constituting the actual political system of Europe, which were the Quadruple Alliance, and the General Alliance, consisting of all powers signatories to the Final Act of Vienna. The General Alliance would have furnished the basis for a declaration announcing to Europe the results of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, stating the reasons for evacuation, and also stating the guarantees still in force, which might be first, a mutual guarantee of the territories

(55) This "Mémoire confidentiel" is found in Wellington's Supplement Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 743, and in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 832. It is noteworthy that this "Mémoire confidentiel", which was a modification of the "Canevas d'un memoire," does not propose a general alliance as did the latter, but merely elaborates the declaration to be made by the Congress. Compare Phillips, The Confederation of Europe, p. 164 ff. It is also noteworthy that the guarantees of territories and of legitimate sovereignty of the "Memoire confidentiel" differs from the principles proclaimed by Pozzo di Borgo's Memoire which formed the basis of "Canevas d'un Memoire". Pozzo's Memoire is found in his Correspondance Diplomatique, vol. II, p. and in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. According to Pozzo di Borgo the defense of legitimate sovereignty might be made the pretext of an arbitrary defense of administration and lead to an intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. Webster states that this "Memoire confidentiel" dated 8 October was not handed in to the Congress before 14 October, but evidently he confuses it with the "Project de Protocole" handed in 14 October of which he takes no cognizance. Compare with the "memoire confidentiel" Alexander's proposal of a territorial guarantee quoted in extenso in Cresson's Holy Alliance, p. 133 ff.

defined by the Congress of Vienna and the treaties of Paris of 20 November, 1815, second, a mutual guarantee of legitimate sovereignty ab antiquo or recognized by treaties in force. The Quadruple Alliance, on the other hand, would furnish the basis for a protocol defining the *casus foederis*, and the military precautions to be taken against France.

This "Mémoire confidentiel" met with a mixed reception. Metternich hailed it "with diplomatic unction". The Prussians welcomed a mutual guarantee of territory as safe-guarding their new acquisitions on the Rhine.

(56)

Castlereagh, knowing that a system providing for the mutual guarantee of territory and political sovereignty would never stand the scrutiny of Parliament, subjected the "Mémoire confidentiel" to a close analysis.

(57)

After analyzing the European state system, Castlereagh disposed of the mutual guarantees by stating that "the idea of an "Alliance Solidaire", by which each state shall be bound to support the state of succession, government, and possession within all other states from violence and attack, upon condition of receiving for itself a similar guarantee must be understood as morally implying the previous establishment of such a system of general government as may secure and enforce upon all kings and nations an internal system of peace and justice. Till the mode of constructing such

(56) Phillip's The Confederation of Europe, p.166.

(57) Ibid.

a system shall be devised the consequence is inadmissible, as nothing would be more immoral or more prejudicial to the character of government generally than the idea that their force was collectively to be prostituted to the support of established power without any consideration of the extent to which it was abused. Till, then, a system of administering Europe by a general alliance of all its States can be reduced to some practical form, all notions of general and unqualified guarantees must be abandoned, and states must be left to rely for their security upon the justice and wisdom of their respective systems, aided by such support as others states may feel prepared to afford them, and as circumstances may point out and justify without out-stepping those principles which are to be found in the law of nations as long recognized and practised."

(58)

Castlereagh won his point.^b By 12 October the four allied powers had agreed by protocol that the Quadruple Alliance would be maintained and that French should be excluded from it.

(59)

The result was to compel the Russian ministers to "descend from their abstractions" and to prepare the Congress for some practical conclusion. Accordingly,

(60)

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(58) Castlereagh's Memorandum is quoted in extenso by Webster: The Congress of Vienna appendix, p. 166 ff.

(59) Webster, The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 145. See also, Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 12 October, in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 78.

(60) Philips: The Confederation of Europe, p. 169.

Capodistrias and Pozzo di Borgo prepared a counter-project of a protocol, which was submitted to the conference of 14 October, ^{to be} A new treaty was/drawn up. It should confirm the stipulations of the Quadruple Alliance treaty directed against France by a secret protocol. It should confirm the arrangements for periodic congresses in which France, as well as all other European states, might participate, by a secret protocol which would regulate the reunions in case of war against France, and by a general communication to the various states of Europe which would announce reunions for the progress of peace. This should invite France to participate in these reunions, which "auront pour objet les intérêts mutuels des cinq Puissances, et présenteront à l'Europe, dans l'unité et l'accord qui caractérisent leurs principes, le moyen le plus sûr et le plus facile pour la conciliation des différends que les Etats n'auraient pu accommoder entr'eux"; stating that these reunions will decide no questions concerning other states "sans y être formellement invitées par eux et sans les admettre à leurs entrevues". This project of a protocol gave rise to animated discussions, but was finally abandoned. It had, however, shifted the stress of the discussions somewhat.

From 14 to 21 October the conferences were concerned with the "extremely delicate questions" of determining the mode by which the Congress should make known the

(61) Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 12 October, in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 78.

(62) Projet de Protocole, in Wellington's Supplementary

position of France in the European state system.

(64)

Metternich showed that the powers must limit themselves to confirming their union by a special protocol, which Richelieu should be invited to sign, and to a declaration making known the results of the Congress to Europe. In the conference of 19 October he succeeded in having the ministers accept two protocols, the one secret, which should consecrate the validity of the Quadruple Alliance, and the other public, which should be communicated to all powers signatories of the General Act of Vienna and of the treaties of Paris.

(66)

Castlereagh, as early as 4 October had written Bathurst that the Congress would issue "a protocol, or declaration, to be made public, in which any sentiments arising out of the present conferences might find their place ..., a joint note to be addressed to Richelieu ... to close with an invitation to the King of France to participate in the Concert ..., a secret protocol..., in which all military details would be disposed of, and the concoction of which would operate a moral renewal of the alliance...." Castlereagh (67).

(62) con't. - Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 771.

(63) See Marten's Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, vol. XI, p. 296; also Prokesch-Osten, Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 409

(64) Gentz: Briefe an Pilat, vol. I, p. 351.

(65) Marten's Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, vol. XI, p. 296.

(66) Ibid, p. 297.

(67) Castlereagh to Bathurst, 4 October, quoted in Yonge's Life of Liverpool, vol. II, p. 342.

in the latter part of October, had received the reaction of the British Cabinet. Liverpool emphatically objected "to a new and more extended treaty", and cautioned Castlereagh against "secret stipulations and protocols".
 (68)
 Bathurst was extremely apprehensive of "continued meetings at fixed points" and stated that Ganning thought ".....a system of periodical meetings new, and of very questionable policy." He thought ".... it would be the safest thing to separate without any declaration."
 (69)

As Gentz wrote ".... ayant toujours devant ses yeux le Parlement au quel il serait obligé de rendre compte de ces transactions et d'expliquer et de justifier chaque phrase des pièces que l'on allait rédiger", Castlereagh
 (71)
 now insisted that the Congress issue a protocol, instead of a general declaration, which should be transmitted to the smaller powers in a circular dispatch.
 (72)

(68) Liverpool to Castlereagh, 20 October quoted in Yonge's Life of Liverpool, vol. II, p. 344; Liverpool to Castlereagh, 23 October, Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. XII, p. 62.

(69) Bathurst to Castlereagh, 20 October, Castlereagh's Correspondence vol. XII, p. 53.

(70) Bathurst to Castlereagh, 23 October. Castlereagh's Correspondence vol. XII, p. 60.

(71) Prokesch-Osten: Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 406.

(72) Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 156.

On 4 November a protocol was drawn up acknowledging the tranquil state of France, the fulfillment of all her existing engagements; the adequacy of the pledges she offers for their completion, and a consequent acknowledgment of propriety of withdrawing the Army of occupation. The King of France is then invited to participate in the Congress.

(73)

On 12 November Richelieu accepted the invitation in his sovereign's name. He avers that the King of France will "... endeavor to perpetuate and augment, by all the means in his power, the benefits which the complete reestablishment of general peace promises to all nations; persuaded that the intimate union of governments is the surest pledge of its duration; and that France, which could not remain a stranger to a system, the whole force of which must spring from a perfect unanimity of principle and action, will join the association with her characteristic frankness..."

(74)

On 15 November two instruments were drawn up. One was the secret protocol, renewing the Quadruple Alliance for the purpose of watching over France in case of fresh revolutionary outbreaks menacing the peace of Europe. The other was a general public declaration.

(75)

(73) Found as Annex A of protocol of 15 November. See note 81.

(74) Found as Annex B of protocol of 15 November. See note 81.

(75) Protocole réservé found in Alison's Lives of Castlereagh and Stewart, vol. III, p. 37; Wellington's Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 835; Marten's Nouveau Recueil vol. VII, p. 314.

The general manifesto read thus:

"The convention of October 9, 1818, which definitely regulated the execution of the engagements agreed to in the Treaty of Peace of November 21, 1815, is considered by the sovereigns who concurred therein as the accomplishment of the work of peace, and as the completion of the political system destined to secure its solidity.

"The intimate union established among the monarchs who are joint-parties to this system, by their own principles, no less than by the interests of their people, offers to Europe the most sacred pledge of its future tranquillity.

"The object of the union is as simple as it is great and salutary. It does not tend to any new political combination -- to any change in the relations sanctioned by existing treaties; calm and consistent in its proceedings, it has no other object than the maintenance of peace, and the guarantee of those transactions on which the peace was founded and consolidated.

"The sovereigns, in forming this august union, have regarded as its fundamental basis their invariable resolution never to depart, either among themselves or in their relations with other states, from the strictest observation of the principles of the law of nations: principles, which, in their application to a state of permanent peace, can alone effectually guarantee the independence of each Government, and the stability of the general association.

"Faithful to these principles, the sovereigns will maintain them equally in those meetings at which they may be personally present, or in those which shall take place among their ministers; whether they be for the purpose of discussing in common their own interests, or whether they shall relate to questions in which other Governments shall formally claim their interference. The same spirit which will direct their councils and reign in their diplomatic communications will preside also at these meetings; and the repose of the world will be constantly their motive and their end.

"It is with these sentiments that the sovereigns have consummated the work to which they were called. They will not cease to labour for its confirmation and perfection. They solemnly acknowledge that their duty towards God and the people whom they govern make it peremptory on them to give to the world, as far as it is in their power an example of justice, of concord, and of moderation; happy in the power of consecrating, from henceforth, all their efforts to protect the arts of peace, to increase the internal prosperity of their states, and to awaken those sentiments of religion and morality whose influence has been but too much enfeebled by the misfortunes of the times".

(76)

Note con't. on next page.

In this definition of the concert of Powers by the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle the influence of various ministers is apparent. Castlereagh eliminated the proposals of the Russian "Mémoire Confidentiel" for mutual guaranteed of territory and sovereignty. In disclaiming the creation of "any new political combination" it is obvious that Castlereagh was in a measure subservient to Parliament, and that, once his influence were removed, England would immediately tend toward the policy which Canning afterwards characterized as "resuming her isolation". Castlereagh, with the aid of his acolyte Metternich, as Richelieu calls him, defeated the Russian "project de protocole", ^{which} proposed a definite system of Congresses in which France as well as other European states might participate, thus insuring the primacy of the great powers. The principle of the "project de protocole" ⁽⁷⁷⁾ that the state whose interests were under discussion should have a right to participate in them was accepted.

In short, the Concert of Powers was kept from the extremes of Alexander's far reaching schemes by Castlereagh. It was likewise kept by Alexander from the extremes of an attenuated and meaningless declaration as proposed by the British Cabinet.

(76) Hertslet, Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. I, p. 564; D'Angeberg, Le Congrès de Vienne, vol. II, p. 1755; DeClerq, Recueil, vol III, p. 175. Martens, Recueil, vol. VII, p. 311; Martens, Nouveau Recueil, series II, Vol. IV, p. 544; British and Foreign State Papers, vol. VI, p. 14; Annual Register, 1818, p. 157, also 1819, p. 130. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. XXXIX, p. 168 etc.

(77) Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 25 October, in Cisternes,
Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 99.

CHAPTER V

THE CONCERT OF POWERS AT WORK

The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle not only defined the Concert of Powers, but also illustrated its workings by taking up questions pending before the conference centers at Paris, Frankfort, and London.

One of these questions was that of mediation between Spain and her revolted South-American colonies, which had been withdrawn from the purview of the ambassadorial conference at Paris when Castlereagh had laid down the British terms of mediation. Pozzo di Borgo, disappointed at
(1)
this turn of events, had then tried vainly to have the powers grant the Spanish king's request for admission to the Congress. Defeated in this project, he hoped to bring
(2)
before the Congress the whole question of Spanish-colonial relations, in ^{the} discussions of which a Spanish representative should be allowed to participate. Alexander himself
(3)
had been approached 24 August by the Spanish charge d'affaires, asking him to use his good offices to see that the Spanish king might be invited to Aix-la-Chapelle.
(4)
The Czar had acceded to this request, at least so far as

1. See conclusion of chapter I, p. 34.

2. Ibid.

3. Pozzo di Borgo, Correspondance Diplomatique, vol. III, p.

4. Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 770

to urge the admission of a Spanish representative to the Congress.

(5)

Likewise Louis XVIII of France had instructed Richelieu to urge that the king of Spain be admitted to the Congress, persuaded that he would imbibe same ideas as to mediation by contact with other sovereigns. Accordingly, Richelieu urged that Ferdinand VII be invited, not so much with a view to mediation, as to press upon him the desirability of establishing one or more of his family as independent sovereigns in the revolted colonies. France and Russia were thus both anxious to have the Spanish-colonial question brought before the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

(6)

(7)

However, due to the obstinately emphatic opposition of Wellington and Castlereagh, Spanish participation in the Congress was denied. Wellington told Richelieu that if Ferdinand VII were invited to the Congress, a Spanish participant must also appear, and this would lead to the great inconvenience that all the smaller powers of Europe would insist on being invited also. He was even more

(8)

5. Ibid.

6. Louis XVIII to Richelieu, 18 September, 1818, in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 28.

7. Webster, "Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies" in English Historical Review, vol. XXVIII, p. 195.

8. Wellington Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 655, 665.

positive in speaking to Pozzo di Borgo. Castlereagh,
 (9)
 likewise recognized the inconvenience of "receiving one
 power to the exclusion of others," though he was not
 averse to having the Spanish-colonies question brought
 before the Congress.
 (10)

The United States, meanwhile was anxiously following the Spanish policy of the European powers, for "it was by that that they wished to regulate their own" in regard to the revolted colonies. While the question of
 (11)
 mediation was before the ambassadorial conference at Paris, Adams wrote Rush: "You will observe that if the European Alliance is undertaking jointly to arrange the affairs of Spain and South America, the United States have so deep an interest in the result, that it will be no more than justice to them on the part of the alliance, to give them clear, explicit and immediate notice not only of their acts, but of their instructions--not only of their final decisions, but of the propositions of each of their members." Adams complained that the Euro-
 (12)

9. Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 810.

10. Ibid., p. 663; also Phillips The Confederation of Europe, p. 242.

11. Bagot to Castlereagh, 29 June, in Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. XI, p. 458.

12. Adams to Rush, 20 May, in Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations, vol. I, p. 67; also Writings of John Quincy Adams, vol. VI, p. 319.

pean allies "withheld from the government of the United States all their proceedings of this intended mediation." (13)

However, just prior to the opening of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, Adams instructed the ministers of the United States to France, England and Russia "....to make known to their respective governments that the United States would take no part in any plan of mediation or interference, in the contest between Spain and South America, which should be founded on any other basis, than that of total independence of the colonies." In (14)

line with this mooted idea of American participation, Gallatin at one time unofficially intimated to Pozzo di Borgo in Paris that the United States should be represented in the discussion of the Spanish-colonies question. (15)

Nothing came of this idea of active participation, but during the conferences at Paris, London, and St. Petersburg, American ministers carefully noted the proceedings of the Congress in regard to Latin-American mediation. (16)

13. Adams to Campbell, 28 June, in Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. I, p. 71; Writings of John Quincy Adams, vol. VI, p. 376.

14. Adams to Smith Thompson, 20 May, 1819, in Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. I, p. 103.

15. Pozzo di Borgo to Nesselrode, 20 January 1818, in Sbornik, vol. CXIX, p. 557.

16. Gallatin to Adams, 5, 7 November, in Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. II, p. 1386, 1390; Rush to Adams, 20 November, 1818; 17 February, 22 March, 1819, Ibid. vol. III, p. 1449, 1450, 1454; Campbell to Adams, 22 December, 1818, 18 February, 3 May, 1819, in Ibid. vol. III, p. 1859, 1860, 1862.

On the initiative of Richelieu, who had been definitely instructed to bring the question of mediation before the Congress, the discussions of the Spanish-colonies question were opened in the conference of 23 October. (17)
 The declaration of Adams that the United States would consider mediation on no other basis than complete independence of the colonies was immediately communicated to the conference. The British ministers, aware that (18)
 the concurrence of the United States was indispensable to mediation, declared absolutely against all coercive measures against the colonies. "Let us", said Castlereagh, (19)
 "decide collectively that the role of mediator be accepted by the five courts, at the same time announcing to Spain that only good offices are possible; let us propose that she begin by granting to the colonies still under her sceptre the advantages she is disposed to offer, and make similar offers to those which are in a state of insurrection."
 (20)

Castlereagh insisted, also, that the fact that coercive measures were not to be used was to be made clear both

17. Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 27, p. 96; compare with Præsesch-Osten, Dépêches inédites, vol. I, p. 408.

18. Gallatin to Adams, 5 November, in Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. II, p. 1386; Adams to Smith Thompson, 20 May 1819, vol. I, p. 103.

19. Ibid., vol. I, p. 103.

20. Quoted by Cresson, Holy Alliance, p. 78.

to Spain and the colonies. In this contention he was
 supported by Metternich, Hardenberg and Bernstorff.
 (21)

Richelieu, Capodistrias, and Nesselrode, on the contrary,
 wished to declare only to Spain the fact that coercive
 measures would not be used, thus giving to the court of
 Madrid their moral support in the mediation.
 (22)

Capodistrias then proposed as a substitute for the
 English scheme a collective note asking the Court of Mad-
 rid to "suggest remedies in detail." Richelieu, Capodis-
 trias and Nesselrode also proposed that the United States
 be invited to take part in a conference of Ministers to
 be held at Madrid, with Wellington presiding, on the ques-
 tion of Spanish-colonial relations. This proposition was
 initiated by Richelieu, partly "in order to attach the
 United States to the general system of Europe and to pre-
 vent a spirit of rivalry and hatred establishing itself
 between the Old and the New World." It was finally de-
 cided that mediation should be offered by a board or by
 (23)
 (24)
 (25)
 (26)

21. Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 25 October, 1818, in Cis-
 ternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 99.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Cresson, Holy Alliance, p. 78.

25. Phillips The Confederation of Europe, p. 242.

26. Wellington's Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 805.

one delegate, Wellington being suggested. However, when
 (27)
 the Court of Madrid on 2 November refused mediation on
 such a basis, the whole matter came to naught. In this
 connection it is worthy of note that a contemporary
 journalist Abbé de Pradt in "L'Europe après le Congrès
 d'Aix-la-Chapelle" sees in the New World the hope for
 France in rising from her present impotent position in
 the European state system, breaking the preponderance of
 Russia and England, by uniting with North and South Amer-
 ica. Across the sea, he says, is rising "une puissance
 qui tend à former un système américain, exclusif de toute
 influence européenne. Ce système est bien évidemment
 celui des Etats-Unis. Il ne peut manquer de devenir aussi
 celui de tous les Etats qui travaillent à se former dans
 l'étendue de cette contrée. Ce plan conduit l'Amerique
 à deux choses, 1. s'abstenir de toute participation avec
les affaires de l'Europe, 2. interdire à l'Europe toute
participation dans les siennes." Certain it is that in
 (28)

27. Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 28 October, 16 November,
 in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 103, 142.

28. Abbe de Pradt: "L'Europe apres le Congres d'Aix-la-
 Chapelle", p. 282. Abbe de Pradt bases these con-
 clusions on an editorial taken from the Washington
City Gazette, 12 October, 1818, quoted by Le Moni-
teur Universelle, 24 November, 1818, and repeated
 by Abbe de Pradt in L'Europe apres de Congres d'
Aix-la-Chapelle, p. 283. These conclusions are
 interesting as throwing light on the origin of the
 Monroe Doctrine. Abbe de Pradt's book was pub-
 lished early in 1819. It was received by Jefferson
 in July 1820, and it is probable that it definitely
 influenced him in formulating an American policy. cont'd.

the discussion of the Spanish-colonial question. at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the first of these principles was definitely developed.

Besides the Spanish colonial mediation question, the efforts at mediation between Spain and Portugal, which had reached a deadlock at the Paris ambassadorial conference when Spain refused to accept the arrangement to which Portugal had agreed, were revived at Aix-la-Chapelle. Mediation would be continued despite the refusal of the Court of Madrid, declared the Congress. ^{HP} Though various (29) questions from the conference center at Frankfort were considered at Aix-la-Chapelle, the question of the organization of the Germanic Confederation was left untouched by the Congress. However, the Prussian diplomats and the Prussian king came more under the influence of Metternich. (29)

28. (continued)

(Jefferson to George A. Otis, 8 July, 1820, in Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State, Nos. 5, 6, p. 358). At least a month later, writing of the visit of Correa, the Portuguese ambassador to the United States, he says: "I hope he sees, and will promote in his new situation, the advantages of a cordial fraternization among all the American nations, and the importance of their coalescing in an American system of policy, totally independent of and unconnected with that of Europe." (Jefferson to William Short, 4 August, 1820, in Memoirs of Jefferson, vol. IV, p. 336). Again a month later he wrote to Correa himself: "Nothing is so important as that America shall separate herself from the system of Europe and establish one of her own." (Jefferson to Correa, 24 October, 1820, in Jefferson's Writings, vol. X, p. 164.)

The king for example was convinced by a memoir from Metternich that a system of "central-representation," would disrupt the Prussian monarchy, making the king "einem Anführer von sieben oder acht getrennten Volks- haufen." Moreover after the congress various factors (30) brought Hardenberg to align himself with the party opposed to constitutional reform.

(31)

Foremost among the Germanic questions actually considered at Aix-la-Chapelle was the Bavaria-Baden dispute, now complicated by the serious illness of the grand-duke of Baden to whose ducal throne Bavaria had pretensions and to whose territory it had a claim in lieu of cessions it had made to Austria. The situation was acute, for (32) Wrede, the Bavarian general, threatened to march into Baden immediately upon the death of the grand-duke. In (33)

29. Musebeck: "Die Einleitung des Verfahrens gegen E. M. Arndt", in Historische Zeitschrift, vol. 105, p. 526; Hirschfeld, "Ein Staatsman der alten Schule," in Deutsche Rundschau, vol. 79, p. 444.
30. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 479; see also Stern: "L'idée d'une représentation centrale de l'autriche concus par la prince de Metternich," in Revue historique vol. XXXI, p. 317.
31. Musebeck: "Die Einleitung des Verfahrens gegen E. M. Arndt", in Historische Zeitschrift, vol. 105, p. 526.
32. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 473; also, Le Moniteur Universelle, 4 August, p. 926.
33. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 472.

the matter of succession the Congress decided against Bavaria, recognizing the succession of the Counts of Hochberg. In the matter of territorial compensations to Bavaria, long negotiations followed, in which Tettenborn, and then Berstett represented the grand-duke. Castlereagh (34) insisted that Austria now give way, having acquired territories from Bavaria for which, as the grand-duke wrote, Bavaria was to be "paid with provinces that belong to me." (35) It was decided that the territorial integrity of the grand-duchy of Baden should be recognized, that Baden, receiving the Austrian Geroldseck, should make small territorial compensations to Bavaria, pay a sum of 2,000,000 francs to the king of Bavaria, and grant the establishment of a military route across her territory. But Bavaria, (36) not having been consulted in these negotiations, did not give up her former pretensions to compensation. The matter consequently was referred again to the territorial commission at Frankfort.

(37)

The Congress also disposed of innumerable small German questions. The elector of Hesse-Cassel was politely

34. Le Moniteur Universelle, 7, 10 November, p. 1304, 1318.

35. Grand-duke of Baden to King of Bavaria, 18 March, 1818, in Annual Register, 1818, "Chronicle", p. 65.

36. Le Moniteur Universelle, 7 December, p. 1425.

37. Ibid., 18 November, p. 1349; also Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 171.

repulsed, seeking the royal title through the good offices of the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The ministers declared (in protocol of 11 October) "....that having met to consolidate the existing order of things and not to create new combinations, considering besides that the title borne by a sovereign is not a matter of simple etiquette, but attaches itself to essential relations and to important political questions, they are of opinion that in their collective capacity, they cannot pronounce on the application." Hoping by brilliant social sallies to win the recognition of its sovereignty, the mediatized house of Thurn-und-Taxis was disappointed. The territorial questions of the minor German potentates of Oldenburg, Koburg and Homburg; the remediatization of the state of Kniphausen were quickly refused. The claims of the other mediatized princes, represented by William of Bentheim-Steinfurt and George of Loewenstein-Wertheim, to their dispossessed estates; likewise the difference arising over the toll of Elsfleth between the duke of Oldenburg and the city of Hamburg were referred to the

38. Richelieu to Louis XVIII, 12 October, in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 78; see also, Wheaton's International Law, Lawrence edition, 1863, p. 300.

39. Stern, Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 471.

40. Stern, Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 471; Webster, Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 171.

the ministers of the four powers at Frankfort.

(41)

From the London conference center the questions of the abolition of the slave trade and of the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean were brought before the Congress.

Castlereagh renewed his efforts to get a mutual recognition of the reciprocal right of visit and search. However, this proposition was viewed with suspicion by all other ministers. A contemporary account states that "it is easily seen, from the strain of the diplomatic notes at Aix-la-Chapelle, that the Congress had a common jealousy of the designs of England upon the African coast....To maintain a fleet upon that coast would obviously be in the power of none but England, so that the idea of reciprocity in the right of search was illusive, and it was not contrary to the entire analogy of British maritime administration to suppose that, in this case, it might be perverted to the ends of rapacity, op-

41. Protocol of 7 November in D'Angeberg, Congres de Vienne, vol. II, p. 1748. DeClerq's Recueil, vol. III, p. 168; British and Foreign State Papers, vol. V, p. 1081. Protocol of 14 November in D'Angeberg, vol. II, p. 1754; DeClerq, vol. III, p. 174; British and Foreign State Papers, vol. V, p. 1086; Matten's Nouveau Recueil, series II, vol. IV, p. 552; Hertslet, Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. V, p. 1086.

42. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 168.

pression, or monopoly."

(43)

Capodistrias, to avoid suspicions of commercial calculations and nationalistic ambitions, submitted a counter-project, proposing the creation of an "Institution Africaine," with a maritime force composed of vessels set aside by the powers for the single aim of abolishing the slave trade; with "une loi generale" obligatory for all powers and prescribing common action against the slave traders, with a supreme council to which the subjects of all states participating in the slave trade would be amenable. Castlereagh, however, (44) showed this scheme to be too complex and too impracticable. Hence neither the English nor the Russian proposals were adopted. More practicable propositions were (45) made by Thomas Clarkson, the zealous abolitionist, who came to Aix-la-Chapelle, with an address on the slave trade composed by Wilberforce. He hoped to bring about (46) a convention with Portugal by which she would agree to

43. Walsh: "Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade" quoted by the National Intelligencer, November 1819, vol. XX, no. 2967.

44. Martens: Recueil des Traites et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances etrangeres, vol. VII, p. 299.

45. Ibid., p. 301.

46. Wilberforce: The Life of William Wilberforce, vol. V; also Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. XII, p. 3.

renounce the slave trade south of the equator at the same time as Spain, viz. 30 May, 1820. He also sought to have the slave-trade declared piracy. He argued thus: "The effectual, the proper, and the consistent course, when the trade is pronounced an offence against the general law of nations will be this: Let it be proclaimed by the congregated sovereigns of Europe, that from 1 June, 1820, they will treat the crime of slave-trading as piracy. ...When at last the slave-trader is stamped with the character and subjected to the punishment of the pirate, slave-trading will soon be as rare an occurrence in the world, as other kinds of piracy are at this day."

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Clarkson secured interviews with various ministers and with Czar Alexander. Wellington declared that he did not see why the slave-trade could not be declared piracy, that it deserved no other designation; and that he would do his utmost to bring about this object. Alexander, too, promised his energetic support. However, according to a contemporary account, "the plan of obtaining a sentence of piracy upon the slave trade, ...appeared

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47. Proposals contained in The Philanthropist, vol. VII, p. 328 ff. See also, Le Moniteur Universelle, 14 January 1819, p. 53.

48. Le Moniteur Universelle, 14 January, 1819, p. 53; also in Gentleman's Magazine, January 1819, p. 70; October 1818, p. 362.

49. Ibid.

to the sovereigns to be wanting in courtesy towards their royal brother of the Brazils, so long as he authorized his subjects to prosecute it."

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Hence, no decision was taken on the slave trade, and the Congress limited itself to confiding to the representatives of the four powers at London the task of elaborating on the questions raised by the Congress.

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Neither did the Congress take definite steps towards the suppression of piracy. The designs of Alexander in proposing a maritime league in the Mediterranean, which proposal he had made through his representative at the ambassadorial conference in London, were suspected both by England and Austria. Richelieu's remedy (by his instructions) was the reestablishment of the Order of St. John (Knights of Malta). Accordingly, Metternich proposed the restoration of their island fortresses to the Order of the Knights of Malta as the naval base for an international fleet operating against the Barbary

50. Walsh: "Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade" quoted by the National Intelligencer, November 1819, vol. XX, no. 2967.

51. Martens: Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères, vol. VII, p. 302.

52. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, 473.

53. Louis XVIII to Richelieu, 16 September, in Cisternes, Le Duc de Richelieu, p. 31

pirates.

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Castlereagh, according to a contemporary magazine account, was "to submit to the Congress a memorial from Sir Joseph Banks, relative to the means of delivering Europe from the predatory attacks of the Barbary Powers, and of civilizing the northern coast of Africa."

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If he did submit it, it evidently got no consideration.

No plan was adopted. The Congress merely resolved

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that the Porte be reminded of the flagrant piracies of its vassal Barbary states, whom England and France should warn directly against a continuance of their depredations.

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However, the Congress united in protesting against the privateers armed in American ports to prey upon the "enemies" of the South-American colonists.

On the problem of the execution of the treaty of Kiel, another issue left over from the ambassadorial conference in London, the Congress decided that the five powers, either by their sovereigns or by their diplomatic representatives, should address confidential letters to the King of Sweden, reminding him in positive terms of his duty in executing the treaty.

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54. Cresson: Holy Alliance, note on p. 82.

55. Gentleman's Magazine, October 1818, p. 362.

56. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 474.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., vol. I, p. 476; Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 170

Besides the questions from the conference centers at Paris, Frankfort, and London, others were brought before the Congress by private individuals.

Thomas Clarkson, whose work for the abolition of the slave trade at the Congress has already been discussed, was sent by the London Peace Society to Aix-la-Chapelle to work for the cause of peace. He secured an interview with Alexander (19 October), who was already favorably disposed toward peace propaganda. He privately presented tracts to the Emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia and to other leaders of the Congress. He then formally submitted a declaration of the London Peace Society to the Congress. It reads:

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"Your Majesties are again assembled to deliberate for the interests of mankind, and for the repose and welfare of the world. May the wisdom that is from above preside in your councils, and the charities of the Gospel open your hearts to every variety of human suffering, and inspire them with benevolent plans of alleviation.

Eighteen centuries have elapsed since the religion of Jesus was first announced with tidings of great joy to the whole earth. The first ages of Christianity alone saw the scattered communities of the church united in the bonds of love and harmony.

When peace was within its borders no violence of man could prevent their enlargement; but from that time it has been torn with dissention, desolated with intestine slaughter, and dishonored in the eyes of pagans and idolators.

59. The Philanthropist, vol. VII, p. 292.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

In the good providence of God it was reserved for Your Majesties to proclaim anew the divine authority of its precepts, and to advance a most signal step toward the establishment of universal Peace.

You have accordingly entered into solemn covenant to make the precepts of Christianity the rules of private administration in your respective dominions, and of political intercourse and relation with each other and with foreign states.

Wise and admirable policy! developed by the influence of Gospel light, after a long and tempestuous season of darkness and desolation.

Your Majesties have felt the evils of war, and have deplored its calamities. You have seen its temporary successes to be without profit and without honor. You have therefore wisely determined to oppose a Barrier to its future encroachments and devastations. - And how is this barrier to be formed?

Will Your Majesties condescend to take an example from the administration of justice in small communities? As the maxims of jurisprudence decide between man and man, so may not the laws of a sound and Christian policy determine between contending kingdoms before the high general tribunal of arbiters, whom Your Majesties may select for that dignified and especial office? And as the estates of a kingdom are assembled from time to time to hear complaints and to redress wrongs: so Your Majesties, by assembling in person, or by distinguished representatives, will stand as umpires, to whom will be referred all disputes in the great Christian commonwealth: and thus a perpetual Congress will be established, to arbitrate between contending states, and to promote the happiness of the world.

For indeed Your Majesties have been pleased to consider your own and other Christian states as only forming one great Christian nation; to acknowledge yourselves as delegated by Providence to govern the several great branches as fathers of this one family; and to confess, 'that in reality there is no other sovereign than Him, to whom alone belongs all power, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom.'

- London, 28th Sept, 1818.

Another philanthropist, Robert Owen, came to the Congress to relieve the distress of the laboring class.

At Frankfort in an interview with Gentz he had heard the discouraging confession that "we do not want the mass to become independent of us. How could we govern them if they were?" Nevertheless, he went to Aix-la-Chapelle, secured interviews with Alexander, Wellington, and Castlereagh, and through the latter presented memorials to the Congress "on the present state and future prospect of society." In these he showed that, since the introduction of machinery and the consequent concentration of industry, the misery of the laboring class had increased and that its condition could be improved by decentralizing production in establishing little communities, in which the laboring class would carry on both agricultural and industrial activities. Several years later Owen found these memorials to have made "an extraordinary impression" on the sovereigns and ministers. He stated that the memorials "were acknowledged by the members of the Congress to be the most important documents that had been received during its sittings."

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62. Life of Robert Owen, p. 251 ff.

63. Ibid.

64. Reybaud: Etudes sur la Reformateurs, p. 233 ff.

65. Life of Robert Owen. p. 251 ff.

66. Ibid.

A third British philanthropist to come to the Congress was the Rev. Lewis Way of Stanstead, England, who devoted his life to the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. His object, he wrote later, was "....a
(67)
reasonable appeal to the justice and liberality of an enlightened century, concerning the amelioration of their civil and moral condition in the governments of Europe."
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He prepared, in their behalf, a petition and a memorial, addressed to the allied sovereigns, and given to Alexander 5 October. The memorial, in preparing which the
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Prussian statesman Christian Wilhelm Dohm collaborated, follows:
(70)

Principles to serve as a basis for a memorial on the actual state of the Israelites, and on the benefits that the Christians ought to grant to them.

Presented to his Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias at Aix-la-Chapelle, October, 5, 1818.

1. All civil and social rights ought to be accorded to the Israelites without any difference from those enjoyed by the Christians.

2. The governments ought to induce their priests, and especially the bishops, to preach to their fullest ability both by their example and their speech the widest charity toward the children of Israel.

67. Kohler: Jewish Rights at the Congress of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, p. 50.

68. In a letter addressed by Way to the publishers of L'Oracle, dated 7 December, quoted in Le Moniteur Universelle, 12 December, p. 1446

69. Kohler: Jewish Rights at the Congress of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, p. 50.

70. Kohler points out that Martens in his Recueil, vol. VII, p. 298 wrongly ascribes the whole memorial to Dohm. The memorial is quoted by Kohler, p. 55 ff.

3. The gov'ts ought to encourage the establishment of arts and trades among the Israelites and, above all, to direct them toward agriculture; to reward those who make progress and to take into their employ those who are capable of usefully filling positions.

4. The gov'ts ought to make regulations to enable the Jewish youth to participate in general education, to the same extent as the Christians, in the same colleges, gymnasiums, universities, etc.

5. To accomplish a project so conducive to the well-being of the Israelites, it is necessary to establish a central committee composed of enlightened Christian and Jewish members at Frankfort, Berlin and Warsaw, or in some other place.

The objects with which this committee would occupy itself would be: in

1. To establish general correspondence regarding the Israelites in all parts of the world.

2. To encourage the publication of such works as will aim to put an end to prejudice, to uproot hatred, and to maintain a mutual spirit of goodwill and harmony.

3. To examine different writings opposing the admission of Israelites to civil rights, which may appear, and to refute them.

4. Finally, this Committee would undertake to ascertain the best means of reforming and perfecting the civil, moral and religious state of the children of Israel, to spread and promote mutual education among them and the taste for the mechanical and liberal arts.

PRINCIPLES regarding the duties of the Israelites, if the sovereigns in their wisdom will consent to grant the fundamental ideas proposed;

1. The Israelites, in accepting civil rights in the various gov'ts of Europe, ought to comply with the obligations which these changes impose on them.

2. They ought to contribute, as far as they are able, to the improvement of their habits and to give up customs (non-obligatory or non-essential) which tend to isolate them in their secular relations from Christians.

3. They ought to renounce those of their laws which are opposed to the laws of the country they inhabit, so that these will not be a hindrance to their emancipation and finally they ought to assume all obligations common to other citizens..

4. The wealthy Israelites ought to make some pecuniary sacrifice in order to improve and perfect the education of their indigent co-religionists.

Primary schools should be established, where needed, in which the Jewish children could imbibe moral precepts and the elements of useful knowledge, so that each one could thereafter perfect himself in public schools, colleges, gymnasiums, etc.

REMARKS:

1. The sacrifices made by the wealthy Jews and the efforts of the young Israelites to acquire an education would be paralyzed, if their merits and talents would not suffice to admit them to offices and enable them to follow arts and trades, or if the enjoyment of civil rights is not solemnly guaranteed by law.

2. As to the particular regulations of each State, the diet at Frankfort, at Warsaw, or other competent authorities could undertake to draw them up in conjunction with the respective princes or sovereigns, according to the bases and fundamental principles laid down by the principal Powers meeting together in Congress.

3. The rehabilitation of the Israelites ought not to be hurtful to society in general; on the contrary, unexpected advantages as much for the govt as for the people might result from it.

4. If the general and immediate execution of such a regulation as to the admission to employments, and their complete fulfillment, would involve inconveniences, the questionable points could be postponed to a future time for execution.

5. Those principles which pertain only to the moral and social state of the Israelites will not aim at destroying their nationality and will leave them full power freely to follow their religion.

Alexander, who in St. Petersburg had had four interviews with Way, ~~and~~ had expressly desired to meet Way at Aix-la-Chapelle "in order to lay before the gathering of notables there and to bring close to their hearts

the matter of the Jews." He now referred the memorial
(71)
to the conference of 21 November through Nesselrode.

In a protocol the Congress declared sympathy "for the praiseworthy object" of the memorial and avowed that the Jewish question was a matter "which must claim the attention equally of the statesman and the humanitarian." The Austrian and Prussian representatives
(72)
"declared themselves ready to furnish all possible information concerning the Jewish situation in those monarchies." However, the pressing situation of the Jews at Frankfort was left unremedied.

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Among the minor questions before the congress was the appeal of the Bonapartists for the captive of St. Helena. Letters of Louis Bonaparte to Metternich and of the mother of Napoleon to Alexander asking that Napoleon be removed to a more healthy place than St. Helena, and that Napoleon's mother be allowed to visit him, were

71. Ibid., p. 86. Kohler in a footnote explains that Miss Drusella Way wrote an account of her father's activities and of his relations with Alexander. This account is found in Saat auf Hoffnung, vol. XIII, p. 212.

72. Ibid., p. 51. The benevolent action taken at the Congress is also probably due to the influence of Gentz, who was in touch with the Jewish bankers, and who in his Tagebücher constantly records their visits and the "pleasant financial dealings" with them. (Vol. II, 286.) See Corti: House of Rothschild, p. 203 ff.

73. Kohler: Jewish Rights at the Congress of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, p. 51.

laid before the Congress, but found little sympathy.
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The British reports of the treatment of Napoleon were accepted and approved; the request of Napoleon's mother was refused. The family of Napoleon, however, was allowed to nominate the physician that was to attend the ex-emperor. The measures of precaution to prevent communication were devised by Pozzo di Borgo. They were very drastic, but as Castlereagh wrote to Bathurst:
(75) (76)

"When it is Corse contre Corse you will not be surprised to find a little cayenne."
(77)

The wife of the former French minister Vitrolles, who had been dismissed by Louis XVIII because of his part in a royalist memoir to the allied powers arguing against evacuation, tried vainly to win a hearing of the sovereigns and diplomats.
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The subjects of the prince of Monaco complained to the Congress of his misgovernment, and the Congress

74. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, p. 170; National Intelligencer, 5 December, 1818, vol. XIX, no. 2841; 13 April, 1819, vol. XX, no. 2894.

75. Ibid.

76. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 477.

77. Castlereagh to Bathurst, 19 November, in Wellington Supplementary Dispatches, vol. XII, p. 844.

78. Daudet: "Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle" in Le Correspondant, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 43 ff.

had to remind him that the state of Monaco had not been set up again "um seine Einwohner einem System der Verwüstung auszuliefern."

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The Congress also took cognizance of certain points of international etiquette. At the Congress of Vienna 19 March, 1815, three classes of diplomatic agents had been established, viz.: first, Ambassadors; second, Ministers Plenipotentiary and Envoys Extraordinary; third, Charges d'affaires. By the protocol of 21 November the ministers agreed upon a fourth class--namely, Ministers Resident, to rank between Ministers Plenipotentiary and Charges d'affaires.

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The question of maritime ceremonials--of a common system of salute, in particular--was considered by the Congress. In the protocol of 9 November the ministers agreed that existing regulations observed by the five great powers should be referred to the ambassadorial conferences at London, and that the other maritime powers should be invited to communicate their views of the subject in order to form some general regulation.

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79. Stern: Geschichte Europas, vol. I, p. 476.

80. Protocol of 21 November in D'Angeberg, Le Congres de Vienne, vol. II, p. 1767, DeClerq, Recueil, vol. III, p. 186; Hertslet, Map of Europe by Treaty vol. I, p. 575; British and Foreign State Papers, vol. V, p. 1090; Martens, Recueil, vol. VII, p. 327, etc. Discussed in Hall, International Law, 7th edition, p. 310; Oppenheim, International Law, vol. I, 2nd edition, p. 444, 588; Wheaton's International Law, Lawrence edition, 1863, p. 379, etc.

In appraising the work accomplished by the Congress the conclusion of Gentz seems valid that "all that which has been the object of their secret deliberations has been treated in a spirit of peace, justice, and wisdom, and not a resolution has been taken, not a protocol signed that does not tend to consolidate the public order, or seek to remedy complications which might endanger it."

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81. Protocol of 9 November discussed in Wheaton's International Law, Lawrence edition, 1863, p. 302.

82. Denkschrift of Gentz in Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren, vol. III, p. 165.

CONCLUSION

As stated in its introduction the task of this thesis has been a fuller, more critical, and better balanced study of the basic printed sources for the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 30 September to 22 November, 1818. The objective of this research has been to present the real significance of the Congress particularly with respect to the Concert of Powers system.

With this in view the origin of the European Concert was briefly traced, having its definite institution in article 6 of the four-power treaty of alliance of 20 November, 1815. For three years the Concert found expression in the conference centers at Paris, Frankfurt, and London, to which were assigned most of the diplomatic questions of the time. Then the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle brought all these questions together for negotiation. It likewise brought together and harmonized the conflicting views of the European state system. It thus coincidentally illustrated the simplicity and efficiency of the Concert system, and defined its principles.

An accurate estimate of the Concert system is that made by its founder. Castlereagh looked upon it as "....a new discovery in the European Government, at once extinguishing the cobwebs with which diplomacy obscures the horizon, bringing the whole bearing of the system into its true light, and giving to the councils of the great

powers the efficiency and almost the simplicity of a single state."

(1)

This thesis has shown the significance of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Concert System. The Congress has been studied from the view point of Gentz, who said, "....we must look at it in its general effect, in the whole of the political and federal relations which it has established or materially strengthened, and in the influence which the mind which directed it may exercise on the present and future destinies of Europe. From this elevated point of view the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle is an event of the highest importance, of which the superficial observer takes in perhaps only a few separate features, and which a statesman alone--looking into the hidden causes and meanings of things--can appreciate."

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1. Castlereagh to Liverpool, 20 October, 1818, in Castlereagh's Correspondence, vol. XII, p. 54.
 2. Memoir on the Results of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle by Friedrich von Gentz, November, 1818, in Memoirs of Prince Metternich, vol. III, p. 189.

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